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THE JAPANESE INVASION

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*A Study in the Psychology of
Inter-Racial Contacts*

BY
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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
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PREFACE

THOUGHTFUL students of our immigration problem are more and more turning their attention to the immigrant invasion from the Orient, now small in volume but impelled by powerful forces that may some day be beyond our control. The overwhelming numbers of the Asiatics, the social and economic discontent of the people, and the aggressive nationalism of the Japanese are danger signals that are arousing us from our complacent feelings of security. Vast possibilities for both good and evil are bound up in the rapidly developing Orient. It is of the highest importance that our Government work out an Oriental policy based upon a thorough understanding of the Far Eastern situation and designed to conserve the best interests of all concerned.

This book is an attempt to study one phase of this Oriental problem—the racial aspects of the Japanese immigration. Its interest is psychological rather than historical or economic. Emphasis is laid on the changing mental attitudes of the Japanese immigrants and on their reaction to the race prejudice they are compelled to face.

The writer tries to show that the problem is deeper than that of social assimilation. The fundamental difficulty is a difference of color and physical character-

istics so marked that the Japanese cannot merge themselves unnoticed into American life. This makes inevitable the establishment of a color line between the East and the West, no less real than that between the White and the Black.

Nothing is gained by ignoring the racial aspects of the question as is now the tendency in some quarters. A frank statement of facts is one step toward a better mutual understanding and lays the basis for a more satisfactory solution of the Oriental immigration problem.

The author's first interest in this problem arose during his seven years' residence in Japan as a teacher in a mission college in Sendai. Without the background gained by this long contact with the Japanese people, this study could not have been carried out.

Among the many friends, both Japanese and American, who have furnished data of various kinds, special mention should be made of Dr. William G. Seiple, of Sendai, Japan, who has been at great pains to keep the author in close touch with public opinion in Japan. The author wishes especially to acknowledge his great indebtedness to Dr. Robert E. Park, of the University of Chicago, under whose patient and stimulating supervision this book was written.

J. F. STEINER

Chicago, *January, 1917*

INTRODUCTION

THERE is a conviction, widespread in America at the present time, that one of the most fruitful sources of international wars are racial prejudice and national egotism. This conviction is the nerve of much present day pacifism. It has been the inspiration of such unofficial diplomacy, for example, as that of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in its effort to bring about a better understanding between the Japanese and America. This book is an attempt to study this phenomenon of race prejudice and national egotism, so far as it reveals itself in the relations of the Japanese and the Americans in this country, and to estimate the rôle it is likely to play in the future relations of the two countries.

So far as I know, an investigation of precisely this nature has not hitherto been made. One reason for this is, perhaps, that not until very recent times did the problem present itself in precisely this form. So long as the nations lived in practical isolation, carrying on their intercourse through the medium of professional diplomats, and knowing each other mainly through the products they exchanged, census reports, and the discreet observations of polite travellers, racial prejudice did not disturb international relations. With the extension of international commerce, the increase of

immigration, and the interpenetration of peoples, the scene changes. The railway, the steamship, and the telegraph are rapidly mobilizing the peoples of the earth. The nations are coming out of their isolation, and distances which separated the different races are rapidly giving way before the extension of communication.

The same human motives, which have led men to spread a network of trade-communication over the whole earth, in order to bring about an exchange of commodities, are now bringing about a new distribution of populations. When these populations become as mobile as the commodities of commerce there will be practically no limits—except those artificial barriers, like the customs and immigration restrictions, maintained by individual states—to a world wide economic and personal competition. Furthermore, when the natural barriers are broken down, artificial barriers will be maintained with increasing difficulty.

Some conception of the extent of the changes which are taking place in the world under the influence of these forces may be gathered from the fact that in 1870 the cost of transporting a bushel of grain in Europe was so great as to prohibit its sale beyond a radius of two hundred miles from a primary market. By 1883 the importation of grains from the virgin soil of the Western prairies in the United States had brought about an agricultural crisis in every country in Western Europe.

One may illustrate, but it is scarcely possible to esti-

mate the economic changes which have been brought about by the enormous increase in ocean transportation. In 1840 the first Cunard liner, of 740 horsepower with a speed of 8.5 knots per hour, was launched. In 1907, when the *Lusitania* was built, ocean-going vessels had attained a speed of 25 knots an hour and were drawn by engines of 70,000 horsepower.

It is difficult to estimate the economic changes which have been brought about by the changes in ocean transportation represented by these figures. It is still less possible to predict the political effects of the steadily increasing mobility of the peoples of the earth. At the present time this mobility has already reached a point at which it is often easier and cheaper to transport the world's population to the sources of raw materials than to carry the world's manufactures to the established seats of population.

With the progressive rapidity, ease, and security of transportation, and the increase in communication, there follows an increasing detachment of the population from the soil, and a concurrent concentration in great cities. These cities, in time, become the centers of vast numbers of uprooted individuals, casual and seasonal laborers, tenement and apartment house dwellers, sophisticated and emancipated urbanites, who are bound together neither by local attachment nor by ties of family, clan, religion, or nationality. Under such conditions it is reasonable to expect that the same economic motive which leads every trader to sell in the

highest market and to buy in the lowest will steadily increase and intensify the tendency, which has already reached enormous proportions of the population in overcrowded regions, with diminished resources, to seek their fortunes, either permanently or temporarily, in the new countries of undeveloped resources.

Already the extension of commerce and the increase of immigration have brought about an international and interracial situation that has strained the inherited political order of the United States. It is this same expansive movement of population and of commerce, together with the racial and national rivalries that have sprung from them, which first destroyed the traditional scheme of international control which rested on it. Whatever may have been the immediate causes of the world war, the more remote sources of the conflict must undoubtedly be sought in the great cosmic forces which have broken down the barriers which formerly separated the races and nationalities of the world, and forced them into new intimacies and new forms of competition, rivalry, and conflict.

Since 1870 the conditions which I have attempted to sketch have steadily forced upon America and the nations of Europe the problem of assimilating their heterogeneous populations. What we call the race problem is an incident of this process of assimilation, and is an evidence of its failure.

The present volume touches but does not deal with the general situation which I have briefly sketched. It is, as its title suggests, a study in "racial contacts," and

is an attempt to distinguish and trace to their sources the attitudes and the sentiments—that is to say, mutual prejudices—which have been and still are a source of mutual irritation and misunderstanding between the Japanese and American peoples.

Fundamentally, prejudice against the Japanese in the United States is merely the prejudice which attaches to every alien and immigrant people. The immigrant from Europe, like the immigrant from Asia, comes to this country because he finds here a freedom of individual action and an economic opportunity which he did not find at home. It is an instance of the general tendency of populations to move from an area of relatively closed to one of relatively open resources. The movement is as inevitable and, in the long run, as resistless as that which draws water from its mountain sources to the sea. It is one way of redressing the economic balance and bringing about an economic equilibrium.

The very circumstances under which this modern movement of population has arisen implies then that the standard of living, if not the cultural level, of the immigrant is lower than that of the native population. The consequence is that immigration brings with it a new and disturbing form of competition, the competition, namely, of peoples of a lower and of a higher standard of living. The effect of this competition, where it is free and unrestricted, is either to lower the living standards of the native population; to expel them from the vocations in which the immigrants are

able or permitted to compete; or what may, perhaps, be regarded as a more sinister consequence, to induce such a restriction of the birth rate of the native population as to insure its ultimate extinction. The latter is, in fact, what seems to be happening in the New England manufacturing towns where the birth rate in the native population for some years past has fallen below the death rate, so that the native stock has long since ceased to reproduce itself. The foreign peoples, on the other hand, are rapidly replacing the native stocks, not merely by the influence of new immigration but because of a relatively high excess of births over deaths.

It has been assumed that the prejudice which blinds the people of one race to the virtues of another, and leads them to exaggerate that other's faults, is in the nature of a misunderstanding which further knowledge will dispel. This is so far from true that it would be more exact to say that our racial misunderstandings are merely the expression of our racial antipathies. Behind these antipathies are deep-seated, vital, and instinctive impulses. These antipathies represent collision of invisible forces, the clash of interests, dimly felt but not yet clearly perceived. They are present in every situation where the fundamental interests of races and peoples are not yet regulated by some law, custom, or any other *modus vivendi* which commands the assent and the mutual support of both parties. We hate people because we fear them; because our interests, as we understand them at any rate, run counter

to theirs. On the other hand, good will is founded in the long run upon cooperation. The extension of our so-called altruistic sentiments is made possible only by the organization of our otherwise conflicting interests and by the extension of the machinery of cooperation and social control.

Race prejudice may be regarded as a spontaneous, more or less instinctive defense-reaction, the practical effect of which is to restrict free competition between races. Its importance as a social function is due to the fact that free competition, particularly between people with different standards of living, seems to be, if not the original source, at least the stimulus to which race prejudice is the response.

From this point of view we may regard caste, or even slavery, as one of those accommodations through which the race problem found a natural solution. Caste, by relegating the subject race to an inferior status, gives to each race at any rate a monopoly of its own tasks. When this status is accepted by the subject people, as is the case where the caste or slavery systems become fully established, racial competition ceases and racial animosity tends to disappear. That is the explanation of the intimate and friendly relations which so often existed in slavery between master and servant. It is for this reason that we hear it said today that "the Negro is all right in his place." In his place he is a convenience and not a competitor. Each race being in its place, no obstacle to racial cooperation exists.

The fact that race prejudice is due to, or is in some sense dependent upon, race competition is further manifest by a fact which Mr. Steiner has emphasized, namely, that prejudice against the Japanese is nowhere uniform throughout the United States. It is only where Japanese are present in sufficient numbers to actually disturb the economic status of the white population that prejudice has manifested itself to such a degree as to demand serious consideration. It is an interesting fact, also, that prejudice against the Japanese is now more intense than it is against any other oriental people. The reason for this, as Mr. Steiner has pointed out, is that the Japanese are more aggressive, more disposed to test the sincerity of that statement of the Declaration of Independence which declares that all men are equally entitled to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"—a statement, by the way, which is merely a forensic assertion of the *laissez-faire* doctrine of free and unrestricted competition as applied to the relations of individual men.

The Japanese, the Chinese, they too would be all right in their place, no doubt. That place, if they find it, will be one in which they do not greatly intensify and so embitter the struggle for existence of the white man. The difficulty is that the Japanese is still less disposed than the Negro or the Chinese to submit to the regulations of a caste system and to stay in his place. The Japanese are an organized and morally efficient nation. They have the national pride and the national egotism which rests on the consciousness

of this efficiency. In fact it is not too much to say that national egotism, if one pleases to call it such, is essential to national efficiency, just as a certain irascibility of temper seems to be essential to a good fighter.

Another difficulty is that caste and the limitation of free competition is economically unsound, even though it be politically desirable. A national policy of national efficiency demands that every individual have not merely the opportunity but the preparation necessary to perform that particular service for the community for which his natural disposition and aptitude fit him, irrespective of race or "previous condition."

Finally, caste and the limitation of economic opportunity is contrary, if not to our traditions, at least to our political principles. That means that there will always be an active minority opposed on grounds of political sentiment to any settlement based on the caste system as applied to either the black or the brown man. This minority will be small in parts of the country immediately adversely affected by the competition of the invading race. It will be larger in regions which are not greatly affected. It will be increased if immigration is so rapid as to make the competition more acute. We must look to other measures for the solution of the Japanese problem, if it should prove true, as seems probable, that we are not able or, for various reasons, do not care to hold back permanently the rising tide of the oriental invasion.

I have said that fundamentally and in principle preju-

dice against the Japanese in America today was identical with the prejudice which attaches to any immigrant people. There is, as Mr. Steiner has pointed out, a difference. This is due to the existence in the human mind of a mechanism by which we inevitably and automatically classify every individual human being we meet. When a race bears an external mark by which every individual member of it can infallibly be identified, that race is by that fact set apart and segregated. Japanese, Chinese, and Negroes cannot move among us with the same freedom as the members of other races because they bear marks which identify them as members of their race. This fact isolates them. In the end, the effect of this isolation, both in its effects upon the Japanese themselves, and upon the human environment in which they live, is profound. Isolation is at once a cause and an effect of race prejudice. It is a vicious circle—*isolation, prejudice; prejudice, isolation*. Were there no other reasons which urge us to consider the case of the Japanese and the oriental peoples in a category different from that of the European immigrant, this fact, that he is bound to live in the American community a more or less isolated life, would impel us to do so.

I have called what I have here written an introduction. It is perhaps less an introduction than an interpretation. As such, however, it may serve its purpose, which has been to add, if possible, something to the significance of this study by a review of the larger situation, in which its special problem lies.

In conclusion, I may perhaps say in a word what seems to me the practical bearing of Mr. Steiner's book. Race prejudice is a mechanism of the group mind which acts reflexly and automatically in response to its proper stimulus. That stimulus seems to be, in the cases where I have met it, unrestricted competition of peoples with different standards of living. Racial animosities and the so-called racial misunderstandings that grow out of them cannot be explained or argued away. They can only be affected when there has been a readjustment of relations and an organization of interests in such a way as to bring about a larger measure of cooperation and a less amount of friction and conflict. This demands something more than a diplomacy of kind words. It demands a national policy based on an unflinching examination of the facts.

ROBERT E. PARK.

The University of Chicago,
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CHAPTER I

OUR FIRST ACQUAINTANCE WITH THE JAPANESE

THE first Japanese to set foot upon the American continent came to Mexico early in the seventeenth century as guests of Spanish colonists who then were the only Europeans residing on the western coast of America. The same aggressiveness and organizing ability and capacity for leadership, which have been such prominent factors in the recent development of Japan, were also characteristic of the Japanese of that day.

Under the leadership of ambitious rulers a Japanese mercantile fleet was organized and trade routes were established to such distant points as India and Java. Their three-masted, square-rigged vessels, very little smaller than those used by European sailors, were well adapted for long ocean voyages, and under the direction of skilled Japanese navigators, became familiar objects in every far eastern port. Japanese colonists took advantage of this opportunity to go abroad in large numbers. Over 15,000 Japanese, it is said, were residing in the Philippines during the sixteenth century.

The Japanese were quick to see the advantages of foreign trade so eagerly sought by the progressive nations of Europe, and were developing a policy of

expansion that seemed destined to make them leaders of the Orient. Spanish vessels plying between Spain's far eastern possessions and Mexico were urged to call at the ports of Japan. Japanese sailors employed on these Spanish ships learned the route across the Pacific and brought back glowing reports of the New World. In 1610 and 1613 two Japanese embassies proceeded in Spanish ships to Acapulco, Mexico, where they remained a few months studying the conditions of trade in New Spain. The desire of the Spaniards to promote friendly relations between the two countries led them to extend a cordial welcome to their visitors, who were given every opportunity for observation and travel.¹

Whatever may have been the plans of the Japanese for securing a foothold on the American continent, they were destined not to be carried out, for soon after the return of these embassies to Japan the foreign policy of the country was so radically changed that further foreign intercourse became impossible. The desire of the Japanese rulers to profit by foreign trade was outweighed by their fear of foreign aggression. The Roman Catholic missionaries residing in Japan were no longer regarded as mere religious propagandists but as political agents of their home governments, whose real purpose was to undermine the loyalty of their converts.² In the minds of the Japanese authori-

¹ Nuttall, Z., *Earliest Historical Relations Between Mexico and Japan*, Univ. of Calif. Publications of Arch. & Eth., xv, 1-47, 1906.

² Murdoch, J., *A History of Japan During Century of Early Foreign Intercourse*, Kobe, Japan, pp. 45-48.

ties, the safety of their country lay only in seclusion. To accomplish this end all foreigners were banished and Japanese subjects were forbidden to go abroad. In 1636 during the shogunate of Tokugawa Iyemitsu all intercourse with Mexico was cut off and thus ended what might have been the beginning of Japanese expansion in the West. If it had not been for this change in Japan's foreign policy, aggressive Japanese traders and colonists might have explored our whole western coast and established settlements in California long before the arrival of the people of the white race. It is of course futile to discuss what might have been, but it takes no great stretch of the imagination to picture the changed conditions that would now prevail on our western coast if Japan had not lost her chance to gain the mastery of the Pacific in the seventeenth century.¹

For more than two hundred years Japan maintained this policy of seclusion so rigidly that very few Japanese managed to get abroad. Occasionally, Japanese fishing junks, driven far out to sea by sudden storms, were carried by the Black Current across the Pacific and finally stranded on the western coast of America and its outlying islands, a fact which some writers have used to support the theory that the Japanese are the ancestors of the American Indians.²

As early as 1840, American vessels crossing the

¹ Kennan, George, "How Japan Lost Her Chance in the Pacific," the *Outlook*, June 27, 1914, pp. 488-93.

² Davis, H., "Japanese Wrecks in American Waters," the *Overland Monthly*, Sept., 1872, pp. 353-60.

Pacific rescued shipwrecked Japanese fishermen and brought them to America. One of the first of these rescued Japanese to stay for any length of time in America was Nakahama Manjiro, a boy of fifteen, who was taken to Fair Haven, Massachusetts, where he attended school for six years. Upon his return to Japan in 1849 he was treated harshly by the Japanese authorities because he had broken the laws which forbade any Japanese to go abroad. Fortunately he escaped severe punishment, and when Commodore Perry arrived in Japan in 1853, Nakahama acted as one of the interpreters and helped to convince the Japanese of the friendliness of America.¹

¹ Hawks, F. L., *Narrative of the Expedition of Perry to Japan*. D. Appleton & Co., p. 60.

I. Nitobe. *The Intercourse Between the United States and Japan*, gives the following account of one of these Japanese fishermen: "Sentaro—better known by his American nickname, Sam Patch—was one of seventeen unfortunates who, while manning a junk, were blown out to sea, rescued by an American vessel and taken to San Francisco. Sam Patch accompanied the Perry squadron. All the while they sailed, he was apprehending that some ill would befall his neck and was constantly repeating 'shimpai, shimpai' (Japanese word for troubled in mind), showing with what fear and trembling he came once more to take a glance at his native land. He was asked by the Japanese officials to stay in the country and engage in building 'black ships'; but nothing could free him of his 'shimpai' which became almost a part of his constitution inasmuch as it gave him the sobriquet of 'Sam Patch.' He was placed under the care of Mr. J. Goble, who took him to Hamilton, New York, where the poor heathen was dubbed a Christian by being dipped into water. In 1860, when Goble came to Japan as a missionary, he took Sam with him; but at that time when a scrappy knowledge of English might be turned to very good account, Sam lacked Yankee pluck and he lived and died a poor house servant." (p. 157.)

It was not, however, until 1860 that America received an important visit from the Japanese. In that year a special embassy was sent to Washington by the Japanese government to exchange the ratifications of the treaty of 1858. Through the efforts of our representative in Japan, Townsend Harris, the Embassy was given passage in American naval vessels and was received as guests of the American government. This Embassy consisted of a Chief Ambassador and a Vice-Ambassador, who were princes of the highest rank in the Empire, a Censor and a Vice-Governor, who were also of high rank, and a retinue of officers, interpreters, physicians, and servants, the whole party numbering seventy-one persons.

The reception of the Embassy at San Francisco was very enthusiastic. Twenty thousand dollars was appropriated from the city treasury to provide for their entertainment. The city authorities and leading citizens showed the Japanese every possible consideration and did all in their power to make their stay in the city pleasant. Under the auspices of the state and city authorities, a public reception was given the Embassy in the largest hall in the city, which was attended by an immense crowd of people.¹

The trip from San Francisco to the eastern states was made by way of Panama, the Embassy arriving in Washington on May 13, 1860. The Government had made thorough preparation for the reception of the Japanese visitors and treated them with the dis-

¹ *Harper's Weekly*, April 28, 1860.

tion and courtesy befitting their rank. They were granted interviews by the President and chief officers of state, receptions and banquets were held in their honor, and facilities were given them to visit the places of interest in the city and become acquainted with American institutions.¹ The newspapers of that day devoted a large amount of space to the movements of the Embassy and published much information about Japan and things Japanese. The friendly tone of the newspaper press can be seen in the following quotation from an editorial:

This Japanese Embassy is a matter of the highest national and commercial importance. The Japanese are the British of Asia. Like our ancestors of the British Isles, they are of insular origin and full of insular virtues and insular prejudices. They despise foreigners; but they know how to take care of themselves. Many of their customs seem absurd to us; but they are honest in their adoption and thorough in their observance. Their country produces a number of commodities which would find a sale here, and they consume many articles which we produce. Satisfy them that commercial intercourse with us would be beneficial to them, and a valuable trade will be created. . . .

Independently, however, of immediate commercial benefits, the establishment of friendly relations with the Japanese cannot fail to be of marked advantage to our Pacific States. The State of Oregon and the future State of Washington will necessarily become intimately connected with their nearest neighbors over the water. Of those neighbors, Japan is the one best worth cultivating. . . . By and by there will necessarily grow up an

¹ *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, June 2, 1860.

interchange not only of commodities but of men between our Pacific States and the Empire of Japan. Our people will go to Japan and will endeavor to show the Japanese the best side of the American character. On the other hand, the Japanese — if good relations be established between the two countries — will send out some of their people to plant Japanese colonies in our territory. Of this interchange, the benefit will be obvious and mutual. Civilized as we boast of being, we can learn much of the Japanese; if nothing more, we can learn the duty of obeying the laws. In every point of view the visit of the Japanese is an important event, and we fervently trust that all classes of people will combine to do them honor.¹

During their six weeks' visit in the eastern states, great excitement prevailed wherever they appeared. Every city they visited strove to outdo its rival in providing entertainment for the distinguished guests of the nation. Record-breaking crowds assembled in the streets to see them pass by. The climax of their American visit was the Grand Ball given at the Metropolitan Hotel by the city of New York on June 25. On this occasion it is asserted that more than ten thousand of the leading citizens of New York and neighboring cities were present. No money or pains were spared in the effort to make it a brilliant affair. A contemporary writer states that "the whole thing was arranged on a scale of unsurpassed splendor, prodigality, and magnificence. It was a scene of festivity altogether unparalleled in the history of New York." The arrival of the Japanese guests at the reception is thus described :

¹ *Harper's Weekly*, May 26, 1860.

The Prince Ambassadors and the principal officers of the Embassy on their entrance from the hotel to the ballroom were received by the Joint Committee of the Common Council and conducted through the various apartments appropriated to the festivities of the evening. On their entrance the beautiful tune of "Kathleen Mavourneen" was struck up by the band. On entering the principal ballroom, chaperoned by the members of the Naval Commission, they were conducted through the throng of guests, who opened right and left, leaving a lane for them to pass through to the pavilion which had been prepared for their exclusive accommodation at the north of the building on the stage of the theater. The interest at this juncture was intense. The guests spontaneously rose, while the cry ran round the immense building of "the Japanese, the Japanese!" Every eye was strained and everyone present stood on tiptoe to see the members of the unique *corps diplomatique*. . . . Of the appearance of the guests we can only say that it was in every respect in keeping with the brilliancy of the scene amid which they moved with so much taste and refinement. The Japanese Princes were, of course, the principal attraction, and during the evening were the observed of all observers. They were placed in a position which suited them exactly, for, like the performers in a theater, they could see and yet be seen. Our eastern visitors seemed to be greatly delighted at the appearance and animation of the festive throng. Never before in their distant eastern homes did these Japanese gentlemen get entangled in such an ocean of satins, silk, and crinoline as revolved around them last night. They could do nothing else than sit down in quiet amazement at the rapid evolutions made by the lady dancers, who twirled around in the giddy waltz with a rapidity that would have done credit to an artificial fire-wheel. The Japanese could not

help expressing their delight at all they saw and felt, which they did by briefly articulated expressions, by gesticulations and smiles.¹

No reader of the contemporary accounts of the reception of the Embassy can doubt the sincerity of the welcome extended by the American government. The officers of state in their addresses of welcome and in their thoughtful planning for the comfort of the Embassy made every effort to convince the Japanese of our friendly attitude toward their nation. The official welcome in all its formal aspects passed off in the most successful manner and reflected great credit upon those who had it in charge.

If we wish, however, to understand the real estimate that was placed upon the Japanese at that time, we cannot depend entirely upon the story of their official welcome. We must take note also of the conduct of the mass of the people, in this their first contact with the Japanese, in order to learn what sentiments and attitudes they revealed. On the occasion of the Embassy's visit to Philadelphia, a correspondent gives a vivid picture of the insults the Japanese had to face.

The most disgusting and brutal language was unsparingly used by the crowd while the procession was passing over the route. This was especially the case in the lower portion of the city where the "governing classes" most do congregate. For instance, at one point, a Naval Commissioner was greeted with the cry of "Say, you man with the epaulets, is that your monkey you have got with

¹ *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, July 7, 1860.

you?" And this is but one in a hundred of the humors of the crowd. It is to be particularly regretted that many of these remarks were plainly understood by a portion of the Embassy. This morning some of them came to Captains Du Pont and Porter and said they feared from their conduct yesterday that the American people considered them very ridiculous, and intimated that they should not be so severe in their sarcasms, as the Japanese considered the dress and manners of the people of this country equally curious, if not outlandish. They were evidently under the impression that anything but respect had been shown to them by many of the roughs, and the Imperial interpreter had reported that they had been called "niggers," while it was ascertained that an attempt had been made to pull one of their number out of his carriage. . . . A drunken fellow carelessly let off a pistol while conversing with a Japanese, who was so enraged at what he supposed was an attempt to murder him that he drew his sword and rushed at the offender, who would have been undoubtedly decapitated, had it not been for the bystanders.¹

Of course we must not give too much weight to the unrestrained actions of an American crowd, which in its treatment of foreigners and even of its own political heroes has often gone far beyond the bounds of propriety. Without doubt the fact that the Japanese invariably appeared dressed in their native costume helped to magnify in the eyes of the people their foreign peculiarities and further stimulated curiosity.²

¹ *Harper's Weekly*, June 23, 1860.

² *Harper's Weekly*, May 26, 1860, describes the appearance of the Japanese as follows: "The hair is shaved from all parts of the head excepting the sides and back, from which it is gathered in long bands to the crown and there fastened with a white string,

Nevertheless it is true that the mass of the people failed to take the Japanese seriously and persisted in treating them with the condescending familiarity bestowed upon children rather than with the respect due men in their position of power in the state. After their arrival in their hotel in Baltimore we are told that—

. . . . a party of firemen mounted the balcony and introduced themselves to the Ambassadors. At last one of these noble fellows gave a characteristic and playful vent by taking off his heavy and dripping fire-cap and clapping it affectionately on the head of the Chief Ambassador. This was received with such shouts of laughter that two other facetious firemen dropped their caps on the heads of the other Ambassadors, and the applause was terrific. The Japanese took the matter with great philosophy, but we have no doubt the historian of the party

leaving a lock three or four inches long, which is stiffened with oil and brought forward to the forehead where it rests. They wear silk or crepe undercoats of various hues, looser robes of the same material and mostly blue being thrown and folded over them. In their belts of crepe they wear two swords, one short and the other longer, which are borne in neatly wrought scabbards of thick skin, inlaid with ornaments of gold and jewels. Their trousers are very wide and short, descending only to within five or six inches of the ground, and are made of silk which is sometimes covered with beautifully embroidered figures of buds and flowers. Upon their feet are white cloth coverings, half sock, half gaiter, closely fitting and fastened by cords. Their sandals are of straw and are composed of a small flat matting for the foot, and two cords—one passing over the instep, the other between the large toe and its neighbor—which serve to keep it in place. For pockets they use a part of their flowing sleeves and the front of their robes above their belt, the customary occupation of which by goodly sized packages gives the wearers a protuberance of stomach quite unaccountable at first sight."

will make his own comments upon these practical jokes when he submits it to the Tycoon. In the evening fireworks were let off, and the persecuted dignitaries were left to their repose.¹

There was a disposition on the part of the Americans in general to look upon the Embassy as a show intended to furnish them amusement. Surprise was manifested when the Japanese conducted themselves with dignity as men of culture. It was plainly evident that they were regarded as men on a lower plane of civilization from whom not much could be expected. Thus we are told that when the Japanese sat down to their first dinner at Willard's Hotel in Washington, "greatly to the disappointment of all who were on the outlook for something funny, the Japanese took wine and used knives and forks like any other well-bred people." Also on the occasion of their first interview with President Buchanan the reporter writes:

The interview, far from being absurd or amusing, as was anticipated, was of a solemn and serious character. Through the strange differences of dress, language, and custom, it was evident that the Ambassadors were men of high character, honor, intelligence, and refinement, and that the New World could teach them no lessons in propriety of demeanor or in a due sense of official responsibility.¹

The following account of the Embassy's visit to Congress shows clearly the attitude of even the more intelligent Americans toward the Japanese:

¹ *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, June 23, 1860.

They were led over the building and shown the splendid ceiling, but, to the astonishment of those introduced, they manifested much more interest in the mode of conducting the legislative proceedings than in any other part of the show. They remained but a short time and then retired, followed, of course, by a loud laugh from the representatives and by a wild mob rush of men and women from the galleries, which were left nearly empty.¹

Another instance of the indignities to which the Japanese were subjected is brought out in the description of their inspection of the United States Mint at Philadelphia:

It is worth mentioning that the female employees at the Mint behaved in a modest and ladylike manner, neither pressing up close to the Japanese nor clasping their hands nor annoying them in any manner whatever. It is said that this was almost the first instance since the Japanese have been in this country when the princes and suite were not literally annoyed by females when the latter had the opportunity to do so. It should be borne in mind, however, in justice to our fair countrywomen, that those who have thus annoyed them have been principally of the brazen and ignorant sort.²

It is no wonder that a writer in *Harper's Weekly* should make the following indignant protest against the rudeness of the American public:

There are undoubtedly gentlemen and ladies in America, but what a pity that the Japanese will never know it! They have seen some probably during their visit here,

¹ *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, June 6, 1860.

² *Ibid.*, June 23, 1860.

but they could not know them in the multitude. They know the gentleman who smashed his hat over their eyes in Baltimore; the lady who filled up the window in Philadelphia; the shouting, staring, insulting mob which has dogged them everywhere. . . . The drollest part of the whole thing is that we speak of the Japanese as if they were barbarians and savages. But we have yet to read of the moment during these proceedings in which the Japanese gentlemen have not been quite as dignified, intelligent, and well bred as any gentlemen in any country or time. The barbarian and savage behavior has been entirely upon our part; and it is a fair question whether the princes will not return with a profound regret that Japan has so far foregone her ancient traditions as to open her ports to the desolating influx of western civilization.¹

It thus appears that our first experiences with the Japanese resemble somewhat our treatment of them at the present day. In 1860 as well as in these opening years of the twentieth century there was the friendly attitude of our national government endeavoring in every possible way to promote peace and good will between the two countries. Then as now shrewd business men were quick to see the advantage of trade with the Orient which offered such a wide market for American goods. There were people in those days as well as at the present who admired the culture of the Japanese and pointed out the lessons we could learn by contact with the Far East. In the attitude of the mass of the people we notice the same tendency to look upon the Japanese in a condescending way, to assign

¹ *Harper's Weekly*, June 23, 1860.

them to a position of inferiority, and even to subject them to rude insults.

But in spite of all these points of similarity, our attitude toward the Japanese has undergone a vast change within recent years. An undercurrent of suspicion and dislike has spread over America and has broken out in certain sections in expressions of open hostility. The development of Japan into a world power, our contact with Japanese immigrants under the stress of modern labor conditions, are among the new factors in the situation that have made inevitable the rise of our American-Japanese problem.

It is very evident that we are no longer dealing with an obscure nation getting its first glimpse of the western world. The Japanese are now a highly organized and efficient people who are seeking an outlet in the West for their surplus population. The overcrowded East is making its first advance upon the more sparsely settled West. Hitherto the Japanese have come as suppliants asking to share the opportunities we enjoy. Whether they will later follow Commodore Perry's example and back up their demands with a fleet of battleships it is impossible to predict. The situation, however, is serious enough to warrant the consideration of those interested in promoting more cordial relations between the peoples of the East and of the West.

CHAPTER II

THE JAPANESE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE WEST

THE first Westerners to arrive in Japan were a party of Portuguese who in the early part of the sixteenth century were forced by a storm to take shelter in a Japanese port. These foreign sailors were received with great kindness by the Japanese and were sent on their way with the assurance that trade between the two countries would be welcomed. In a few years Portuguese ships bringing merchandise and missionaries came to Japan and inaugurated an era of friendly intercourse mutually satisfactory to both nations. The open-minded, liberal attitude of the Japanese at that time is evidenced both by their ready response to the teachings of Christian missionaries and by their determined efforts to share in the advantages of foreign trade. In their first contact with the western world the Japanese gave no signs of the existence of an unreasoning race prejudice. Writes Captain Brinkley:

In 1541, we find the Japanese celebrated, or notorious, throughout the whole of the Far East for exploits abroad; we find them known as "Kings of the Sea"; we find them welcoming foreigners with cordiality and opposing no obstacles to foreign commerce or even to the propagandism of foreign creeds; we find them so quick to recognize the benefits of trade and so apt to pursue them, that in the space of a few years they established com-

mercial relations with no less than twenty oversea markets; we find them authorizing the Portuguese and the English to trade at every port in the Empire; we find, in short, all the elements requisite for a career of commercial enterprise, ocean-going adventure, and international liberality.¹

After almost a century of this foreign intercourse, the tide of national sentiment turned and a revolutionary change was made in Japan's foreign policy. Every Westerner was expelled from the country. No Japanese was permitted to go abroad upon pain of death. Ships large enough for ocean voyages could no longer be constructed. The government, in its efforts to uproot every trace of the Christian religion that had spread so rapidly among the people, entered upon an era of severe persecution equaled only by the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition. An edict promulgated at that time said:

So long as the sun warms the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan; and let all know that if the King of Spain, or the Christian's God, or the Great God of all violate this command, he shall pay for it with his head.²

Through the enforcement of the most rigid laws, foreign influence was driven out of the country, and Japan followed the policy of strict seclusion for more than two hundred years.

¹ Brinkley, F., *Japan, Its History, Arts, and Literature*, vol. 3, p. 129.

² Cary, Otis, *History of Christianity in Japan*, F. H. Revell Company, vol. 1, p. 231.

The reasons for this revulsion of feeling are not hard to find. The Japanese could not long be blind to the fact that the Europeans of that day, whether merchants or missionaries, were by no means mere promoters of western civilization and culture.¹ There grew in their minds the suspicion that even the propagation of Christianity was being used as a cloak to hide the political designs of the foreigners. They believed that their country was endangered by the presence of foes masquerading as friends. Their only safety, they felt, lay in taking stern measures before the foreigners had secured a firm foothold in their country.

¹ "It must ever be borne in mind that after the discovery of India by Da Gama in 1498, the eastern trade was always maintained as a royal monopoly, and that the early Portuguese discoverers were not, as were the English afterwards, mere traders or private adventurers, but admirals with a royal commission to conquer territory and to promote the spread of what was called Christianity. So much appears for example in the case of Calral, who was in command of the fleet of thirteen sail that left the Tagus for India in 1500. The sum of his instructions was to begin with preaching, and if that failed, to proceed to the sharp determination of the sword. As for Da Gama and his method of propagating 'the true religion,' in spite of his well-deserved and undying fame as a discoverer, his career is a record of brutal atrocities that make one blush for civilization, for religion, and for humanity alike. . . . These pious ruffians seem to have been thoroughly convinced that it was not only their right, but their duty, to conquer and convert the heathen by any and every means whatsoever. Possibly when the keen-witted Japanese came to grasp the import of this fact—as there are grounds to believe they did, in the early seventeenth century—their expulsion of the foreign missionaries and their stern and ruthless suppression of Christianity in the country became merely matters of course." *A History of Japan During Century of Early Foreign Intercourse*, p. 45 ff.

From this time dates the beginning of Japanese prejudice against the West, a prejudice so deep-seated that it caused Japan to drop out of touch with the progress of the world and to become almost hopelessly outdistanced in the race of material civilization. What little knowledge of the western world filtered into Japan during its two centuries of seclusion came largely through Dutch traders who, by accepting humiliating restrictions, carried on a little trade at the port of Nagasaki. Some Dutch books were secured by the Japanese and translated, but so violent was the prejudice against things western that this new learning could not be widely disseminated.¹

It is easy to understand, therefore, why so much suspicion and fear were aroused by Commodore Perry's visit to Japan in 1853, when he demanded that the country be opened to foreign intercourse. If his demand had not been backed up by the presence of American battleships, the Japanese would doubtless have given it scant consideration. Their laws against foreign trade were still in full force and there was no disposition on their part to violate the traditions of the past. It was only their inability to cope with the situation that caused them to consent to open their country. The Japanese, who were then as now past masters in the art of courtesy, did not allow their feelings of chagrin to affect their treatment of the foreigners. No unpleasant incidents occurred to mar the first visit of

¹ Kikuchi, Baron, "Introduction of Western Learning into Japan," *Japan Advertiser*, Mar. 4-5, 1915.

the Americans to Japan. Even the common people showed a friendliness and civility hardly to be expected under the circumstances.¹ A contemporary account of Perry's expedition to Japan states that—

. . . . throughout these negotiations the Japanese showed none of the captiousness and arrogance usually attributed to them, but as much forbearance and courtesy with the strangers as the most graceful European diplomatists exhibit toward each other.²

During the years immediately following the opening of Japan, many of the Japanese leaders as well as a large portion of the common people seemed favorably disposed toward the foreigners. The hostile attitude was confined very largely to the *samurai*, the armed retainers of the *daimios*, who as the protectors of their nation felt it their duty to rid the country of the western invaders. This proud military class, accustomed to receive the homage of all whom they met, bitterly resented the humiliating way in which their nation had been compelled to bow to the foreign demands. The *samurai* were acquainted with the history of their past and knew the sad results that had

¹ In the Journal of Dr. Williams, the interpreter of the Perry expedition, we find the following testimony to the friendliness of the people: "The surveying boats have had considerable friendly intercourse with the people along the beach and in boats today and on Saturday, and ere long there seems likely to spring up a pleasant understanding. The people are evidently willing to cultivate kindly feelings with their visitors." Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan, vol. 37, part 2, p. 108.

² "Japan Entering the Commercial World," the *Living Age*, vol. 42, 1854, p. 189.

followed the first foreign invasion in the sixteenth century. They must have been at least dimly aware that the coming of the Westerner heralded a new era which would mark the downfall of their prestige and power. In their eyes the foreigner was a dangerous intruder who must be expelled at all costs. On the body of a Japanese killed in an attack on the British legation at that time was found a paper which contained these words: "I, though I am a person of low standing, have no patience to stand by and see the sacred empire defiled by the foreigners."¹ These zealous patriots not only tried to drive out the foreigners, but also directed their assaults against the Japanese ministers of state who were using their influence to promote closer relations with the West. Some of the best Japanese leaders of that day gave up their lives in their attempt to lead their nation away from its old policy of seclusion. Over the head of one of these victims was placed this inscription: "This is the head of a traitor who has violated the most sacred laws of Japan — those which forbid the admission of foreigners into the country."¹

This anti-foreign feeling was still further aggravated by the treaties which Japan was practically compelled to make with western powers. In the treaties of 1854 and 1858 between Japan and America, the Japanese government granted the right of extra-territoriality and agreed to impose only a fixed minimum tariff rate,

¹ Macgowan, "Japanese Foreign Relations," the *Continental Monthly*, vol. 4, 1863, p. 338.

thus surrendering two fundamental privileges of an independent nation—the right of jurisdiction over all the people in its territory, and the right to protect its own industries against foreign competition. The intelligent Japanese who were aware of the nature of these treaties felt keenly this humiliation. Filled with patriotic enthusiasm for the welfare of their country it was natural that they should take up the cry of *Joi* (“expel the barbarians”), and put forth every effort to accomplish their purpose.

Moreover, the haughty, insolent attitude of some of the foreigners in Japan played no small part in increasing their unpopularity among the people. In 1863 a writer well acquainted with actual conditions criticized in the following frank manner the conduct of foreigners residing in that country:

While for good political reasons some *daimios* have endeavored to render the treaties inoperative and to frighten foreigners out of the land, there has been springing up among the people a strong antipathy toward them for which they have themselves alone to blame. Who that read the glowing accounts of the reception at first accorded to our people, did not admire the suavity and hospitality of the Japanese? This friendly intercourse lasted only until the parties came to understand each other. Now, we are told, when a western man passes through the streets, he is hooted at as *Tojin baka* (“a foreign fool”). . . .

The practical joking in which many foreigners are apt to indulge is often carried too far, and being accompanied by an arrogant demeanor of superiority, proves highly offensive. Again, we find the *Tojin baka* often

fail to discriminate between different classes of females. Discovering that the Japanese were lewd beyond all other peoples, with institutions fostering vice, without even the flimsy pretext of hygienic considerations, they take liberties which rouse the vindictive rage of husbands. . . . In the use of firearms the prejudices of the natives have been needlessly offended. Shooting game is not generally allowed to the people, yet foreigners have been reckless in the pursuit of sport, regardless where they sought it, and terrifying the people. Again, riding on horseback is allowed only to nobles, and it is a source of provocation to all classes to witness the equestrian performances of foreigners of every station in life, whose amusement at times consists in making pedestrians scatter as they gallop through the crowded streets.¹

In all the dealings of Westerners with the Japanese during the first years of the Meiji era, there was this assumption of superiority, a tendency to treat Japan in a condescending and patronizing way which was very galling to the proud and sensitive Japanese people. The more hot-blooded among them came out boldly and demanded that the matter should be settled by an appeal to the sword. The leaders of the nation, however, advocated a different policy. Realizing the weakness of their nation, they hid their bitterness beneath a cloak of deferential politeness, and set about the task of building up an empire that could demand respect and defend itself against foreign aggression. With them it was not merely a question of avenging insults, but of preserving the independence of their nation. The arrogant foreigners who had so little regard for

¹ The *Continental Monthly*, vol. 4, 1863, p. 339.

their customs and institutions might at any moment attempt to exploit their nation as they were already exploiting China. Their safety lay only in strength. Medieval means of defense were inadequate to cope with the situation. The more efficient western methods must be adopted if they were to succeed in their forced competition with the western world. "We will learn all you can teach and then—we will fight you" was the frank statement of many Japanese patriots of that day.¹

Later, when the Japanese government was more strongly established and the people had gained a wider

¹ De Forest, J. H., *Sunrise in the Sunrise Kingdom*, p. 24.

The feelings of the Oriental in the presence of western aggression have been interpreted as follows by Dr. Gulick: "The aggressive, domineering white man has recently begun to overrun the earth; he has destroyed many peoples, overthrown their governments, seized their lands, and murdered countless millions. He regards neither right nor heaven. Might alone is his god. We have never interfered with him, but here he is all around us holding his conquered lands with a mighty grip, demanding trade and an open door, and so-called rights in our part of the world. His uncouth ways, his materialistic civilization, and his strange beliefs are dangerous to our ancient and noble life. It is true that at present we are weaker than he, for we have never believed in fighting. For war is neither the rational nor the right way to settle difficulties. But since that is his way and the only way he understands, we will learn his secrets; master his methods; reorganize our government; establish army and navy; and introduce the instruments of western civilization, adding all its good points to ours; thus shall we be able to resist his aggressions, maintain our independence, and take our rightful dominant place among the nations of the earth. For we are inherently superior to the white man, not only in economic efficiency, but in brain power, general culture, and moral character."—Gulick, S. L., *The American Japanese Problem*, pp. 7-8.

knowledge of the West, this attitude of hostility was pushed into the background. Fear of western aggression was superseded by a strong desire to win western recognition. The achievements of the West convinced them of the real backwardness of their nation. Says Kawakami:

Like a docile pupil the Japanese frankly admitted and recognized the superiority of not only western civilization, but also the western race. When I was in school in Japan as a small boy, my textbooks taught me that "the people of the Occident are exceeding industrious, always rising early in the morning, and never taking a noonday nap." They told me that the Westerners were "our superiors physically, mentally, and morally." It was not only the school children but their teachers and parents who believed such sweeping statements with unquestioning simplicity.¹

The Japanese were painfully aware that they were outside the circle of social and political equality, a fact to which their treaties with western nations bore constant witness. Their great ambition was to escape from this humiliating position by securing as soon as possible a revision of these treaties. To this end deliberate attempts were made to gain foreign favor by adopting the civilization of the West. The strongly centralized government under the control of able and progressive leaders reconstructed as far as possible their old institutions along western lines. Efforts were made to conform to western social standards. Counts

¹ Kawakami, K. K., *Asia at the Door*, p. 47.

Inouye and Ito attempted to Europeanize high society in the Japanese capital. Court ladies ordered gowns from Paris and learned to waltz in western style. A suitable foreign building was erected in Tokyo where expensive balls were given to members of the diplomatic corps. At these functions Japanese ladies of high rank put aside their traditional ideas of modesty and retirement and associated with men on terms of equality.¹ These innovations made by the leaders of the government set the fashion for the people. Western ideas and customs were adopted bodily, regardless of their utility under oriental conditions. Leading men in Japan urged that Christianity be accepted merely as a matter of good policy, and it was even proposed that the Emperor receive the rite of Christian baptism.² To such an extent did the craze for things foreign prevail during the period of western popularity in the eighties that many thought the Japanese nation would be occidentalized in the course of a very few years.

Having thus conformed in such large measure to western standards, the Japanese felt that they had a right to new treaties that would admit them into the circle of civilized nations. All the resources of diplomacy were called into requisition in their endeavor to convince the powers that further discriminatory treatment was an act of injustice.

¹ Atkinson, J. L., "Treaty Relations of Japan with America," *Our Day*, Sept., 1892, p. 277

² Clement, E. W., *Christianity in Modern Japan*, p. 24.

When all their efforts ended in failure, there spread over Japan a wave of indignant protest that carried with it a reaction against things western. Native customs came back into favor and the cry of Japan for the Japanese was raised. Oriental reserve no longer concealed their anti-foreign feelings which had been repressed for a number of years. Hundreds of Christian converts shook off their allegiance to the foreign religion and drifted back into their former mode of life. Enthusiastic missionaries who had predicted the speedy christianization of Japan found themselves doomed to disappointment. The mad rush to ape foreign custom ceased and in its stead a more conservative spirit prevailed. Japan's victory over China in 1895 greatly strengthened the national consciousness of the Japanese, and gave them the prestige and confidence they needed to deal more aggressively with the West. Their renewed demands for treaty revision could no longer be denied and in 1899 there went into effect new treaties that granted Japan equal rights and privileges in her international relations.

This tardy recognition of Japan removed one source of friction with the West, but the long-drawn-out struggle had left feelings of bitterness that could not easily be forgotten. Moreover, the West still maintained its assumption of superiority and in various ways made clear to the Japanese that they were regarded as a people on a lower plane of civilization. Because of the wide difference between the standards of living in Japan and in the West, such an attitude

on the part of the foreigners residing in Japan was almost inevitable. Even the foreign missionary lived in a house much larger than the average Japanese could afford and received a salary five times the amount that was granted to the native pastor. Foreigners employed by the government in any capacity had to be paid a much larger salary than Japanese in similar positions. Indeed, in almost all the relations between foreigners and Japanese, the fact that one was on a higher level than the other was unavoidably apparent. As far as the external possession of political rights was concerned, the Japanese had gained their point, but it was continually forced upon their attention that they were as far as ever from being admitted into the inner circle of western society. Under these circumstances it was inevitable not only that their old feelings of dislike of foreigners should be perpetuated, but that with the growth of national power they should become more openly a characteristic of the Japanese nation.

Professor Ladd in an article published in 1895 made the following clear statement of the way the foreigner was looked upon in Japan :

The real and predominating attitude of the popular mind toward the "foreigner" is still the same unreasoning sentiment that it has ever been. A few and only a few, even of the educated Japanese, have any intelligent and sympathetic knowledge of that type of mental life which has been developed by a western and Christian civilization. Among the people of all classes, uninformed, unreasoning feeling towards all foreigners still underlies the crust of enforced or selfish and conven-

onal politeness. This sentiment is a mixture of surprise and admiration with repulsion and contempt. A well-principled or even a cosmopolitan feeling toward all mankind, an "enthusiasm of humanity," is a rare and difficult thing to find in Japan. What but the knowledge of this mental attitude of his countrymen could have influenced an intelligent native preacher to say in the warmest praise of the power of divine grace: "It can make you love *even* a foreigner."¹

Ten years later Dr. Gulick wrote even more strongly concerning the Japanese feeling of antipathy for men of a foreign race:

Few foreigners have received a hearty welcome from the people at large. They are suspected and hated; as little room as possible is made for them. The less of their presence and advice the better. So far as there is any interest in them, it is on the ground of utility, and that of inherent good will because of a feeling of aboriginal unity. Of course there are many exceptions to these statements, especially among the Christians. But such is the attitude of the people as a whole, especially the middle and upper classes, toward the foreigners.²

That these statements are even today not wide of the mark can be verified by anyone who has an intimate knowledge of the life of the Japanese people. The passing visitor may see nothing of this anti-foreign prejudice, for the well-bred Japanese usually conceals his feelings under an impassive mask and plays the part of host to foreign guests with a suavity

¹ Ladd, G. T., "Mental Characteristics of the Japanese," *Scribner's Magazine*, 17: 85.

² Gulick, S. L., *Evolution of the Japanese*, p. 365.

of manner that conveys the impression of sincerity. As a matter of fact it is to some of Japan's distinguished visitors that we owe many of our misconceptions of the attitude and feelings of the Japanese nation. After being fêted and dined and shown every possible courtesy, they either become too bewildered to see beneath the surface or they feel under obligation to make some return for the compliments showered upon them. At any rate the highly colored views they make public after their return from the East frequently give us an inaccurate picture of real conditions.

Within recent years many Japanese have been quite candid in expressing their attitude toward the western world, as is evidenced by their published articles intended for foreign readers. Yone Noguchi, a Japanese journalist, after his return to Japan from his trip abroad in 1914, sent to the *Nation* a letter in which he expressed with surprising frankness his opinion of western culture. In the course of this communication occur these words:

What does the present European war mean to us Orientals? It means the saddest downfall of the so-called western civilization; our belief that it was builded on a higher and sounder footing than ours was at once knocked down and killed; we are sorry that we somehow overestimated its happy possibility and were deceived and cheated by its superficial glory. We now see that it was merely a mirage or optical illusion of a thing which in its truest sense never existed; it was simply a changed form or crafty masquerading of an avaricious instinct of primitive barbarism. The western people

with all sorts of colleges and institutions in their most advanced order are after all like their naked friends in far-away Asia or Africa. . . . We Orientals will insist in future not to believe whatever high philosophy on love or peace or humanity the western scholars and theologians might write. . . . I have been losing for some long time my own respect towards the West and her own civilization. . . . Having much dissatisfaction with the western life, I returned to a country whose immediate, most important determination should be a refusal to the western invasion.¹

Not the least significant aspect of the foregoing statement is the attitude of mind which prompted the writer to go out of his way to inform the Westerners of his opinion of them. An occasion had arisen when it was possible for the Japanese to assume an attitude of superiority and point out an apparent failure of western civilization. The expression of his views through the medium of the Japanese press was not sufficient for his purpose. His mind could only be relieved by sending back to the countries he had just visited his repudiation of their institutions.

While Noguchi's statement may be considerably discounted because of his well-known propensity for radical opinions along various lines, similar anti-foreign articles have been published by the Japanese newspaper press with such frequency during the last few years that they can hardly be regarded merely as the rabid utterances of sensation-mongers. To a far

¹ Noguchi, Y., "The Downfall of Western Civilization," the *Nation*, Oct. 8, 1914, p. 432.

greater extent than is usually realized, they represent the development of a public opinion that openly expresses itself, regardless of what may be the official attitude of the government. When delicate situations have arisen with foreign nations, the calm, dispassionate statements of official Japan have frequently been contradicted by chauvinistic sentiments published by certain newspapers, which are widely quoted abroad. Japanese leaders try to counteract the influence of these anti-foreign utterances by stating that they are merely emanations from an irresponsible jingo press. The truth is, however, that they do represent the feelings of a portion of the Japanese people and that they exercise no little influence on the molding of public opinion throughout the nation.

The Japanese newspapers have, in general, a marked tendency to be sensational and to indulge in frank statements quite at variance with oriental reserve. The third page of the average Japanese newspaper in its reports of scandals and unsavory gossip puts to shame even the yellowest of American journals. It may be that the newspaper is too new an institution in Japan to be subject to their ancient code, and so is regarded as a legitimate safety valve for their pent-up emotions. At any rate the frank editorial expressions directed against the actions of foreign powers, their threats of war because of real or fancied insults from abroad, and their sharp criticism of the government when it shows any signs of weakness in its foreign policy possess a real significance for those

who wish to understand the attitude of the Japanese nation and make it a fair assumption that the old anti-foreign sentiment still exists in spite of all official assurance of friendliness for the West.

CHAPTER III

THE CLOSING OF THE OPEN DOOR

THE following striking statement by Yamato Ichihashi gives one reason for our changed attitude toward Japan, and contains more than one element of truth:

There existed, and still does exist, a group of men and women in America who liked or like Japan because Japan was or is so fundamentally different from all other countries of the world. To these people charm and strangeness are inseparable qualities in Japan. The Mt. Fuji is charming, but only because she is strangely unique among the mountains of the world. Nikko is charming, but because there nature and art are brought into harmony strangely unrealized in the West. . . .

But more strange is the author of these strange and, therefore, charming arts. He is so unwestern, therefore so unhuman, that is to say, beyond the comprehension of western minds. Nevertheless he is charming because he is strange; indeed every act of his is strange and his surrounding is fantastic. The blacksmith squats at his anvil. The carpenter pulls his plane and saw. The Japanese speak backwards, read backwards, and write backwards. Surely they are a strange folk. And this was or is the world of unreality in which Lafcadio Hearn and his curio friends refused or refuse to face reality. The vision was so enchanting. The Westerner thus sought in Japan, as did the Chinese in legendary days, to enjoy a life nowhere else to be enjoyed. Of course they liked this Japan.

But to their utter astonishment, not to say their dis-

appointment, these strange, unhuman Japanese gradually took on human shape and the still worse human mind. They began to learn to speak, to read, and to write *à la* Occident, if necessary. The blacksmith squats or stands, as the occasion demands. The carpenter pulls or pushes, according to the kind of tool he uses. The art of gardening is not forgot. Curios are still produced, not so much now by mysterious hands, but by horrible western machinery, the very destroyer of art. So in addition to *netsuke*, medicine chests, and thousands of other "little grand" things, even much-despised dreadnaughts, floating toys of civilized men, are being manufactured by the once unhuman, incomprehensible Japanese. The speed of telegraphy is now valued in Japan as in the West. Sedan chairs disappeared, but railroads traverse the Empire from end to end. Picturesque native junks are no more. Instead, stately, indeed palatial steamers plow the ocean. The flag of the Rising Sun now disgraces several ports of Europe and America by its presence.

Thatched roofs are fast being eliminated. Dwellings are now bricked and stoned. The ding-ding-ding of street cars and the toot-toot-toot of automobiles have shattered the music of Japanese urban silence. It is beyond repair. Not a few have cast away their footgear so strange, and barbarous western shoes now cover their dainty feet. Many now fail to pray at Asakusa Shrine. But then these go to Christian churches, hideous constructions devoid of art and—in brief, curio Japan is no more, or at least it is not Japan complete. Her strangeness has disappeared; with it her charm. Japan is the skeleton of a beauty. And now she is conspicuously human. She is too common. Of course nobody likes her now. But who can help it?¹

¹ Ichihashi, Yamato, "Japan Liked and Disliked," *New York Japan Review*, Aug., 1913, pp. 109-10.

There is no doubt but that there was something romantic and attractive about old Japan. Its quaint customs and elaborate politeness and artistic fame gained added glamour through distance and unfamiliarity. Above all there was no commercial or industrial rivalry to cause unpleasantness, and the Japanese very courteously assumed the subordinate rôle which the West assigned them. In 1860 the Japanese were merely a newly discovered people whose strange costumes and novel appearance piqued our curiosity. Our reaction toward them was instinctive, spontaneous, and unreflecting. We never stopped to consider what our association with them would involve. Now the situation has entirely changed. The Japanese no longer flatter our pride by showing astonishment at our greatness, but have become our competitors in the industrial and political world. Human nature being as it is, old Japan with its works of art and teachable people would naturally be more popular than modern Japan with its battleships and aggressive nationalism determined to compete with us in every field of human endeavor. Says Professor W. I. Thomas:

The Japanese for fifty years have been diligently acquiring our habits, with the view of equaling our activities, and in the degree that they showed ability equal to ours along our own lines, we began to have a fellow feeling for them and even a very warm admiration. They looked charming to us in their own country, and we were progressing toward social, political, commercial, and matrimonial alliances with them when the genial currents of our soul were frozen by the discovery that

they were dangerous. In our own country they are better fruit growers and farmers than we are and their standard of living is lower. They are therefore a menace, and there begins to be a reinstatement of the hate attitude, especially on our western coast.¹

The beginning of our awakening to the fact that Japan was to become a serious rival of western nations dates back to 1894-5, when Japan waged a successful war against China and clearly demonstrated her military prowess. After this unexpected display of Japan's fighting power, it was no longer possible to regard her ambitions and national policies with indifference. For more than a generation the Japanese had been made to feel that they were almost hopelessly outdistanced in their efforts to catch up with western progress, but now the goal of equal treatment and recognition as a world power seemed about to be realized. Under these circumstances their old pride of race naturally reasserted itself. Their military successes inflamed the masses of the people and gave them inflated ideas of their own importance. In the eyes of many Japanese their adaptation of western civilization was regarded as a greater achievement than all the scientific discoveries of the West. It began to be asserted that in Japan would be developed a blend of oriental and occidental civilizations far superior to anything the world had ever seen. Their nation was to produce the universal religion and become such a center of

¹ Thomas, W. I., "The Significance of the Orient for the Occident," *Amer. Journ. Soc.*, 13: 732.

knowledge that western scholars would some time come and sit at their feet.¹

This development of national pride and self-consciousness was reflected in the Japanese emigrants who went abroad and also in the attitude of the government which jealously watched over their interests. The Japanese, who, after their war with China, began to arrive in America in rapidly increasing numbers, were filled with a new sense of dignity and pride. They did not come as humble immigrants from a decadent land, but as representatives of a victorious and progressive nation. While temporarily, by virtue of necessity, they might be willing to occupy a servile position as did the Chinese, this was regarded only as a stepping-stone to something better. They possessed the ambition to rise out of the ranks of unskilled laborers and took advantage of every opportunity to do so. It was this laudable ambition, together with a bold assertion of their rights, that first marked them out as different from the Chinese, who had always meekly accepted a subordinate place. It was also their possession of these same characteristics that helped to make inevitable the rise of the Japanese problem.

As early as 1884 Japanese peasants and coolies began to arrive on our Pacific coast, but their numbers were too small to attract much attention. For more than a quarter of a century it had been the Chinese who constituted our oriental problem. The people in the western states believed that the Chinese invasion

¹ *Evolution of the Japanese*, pp. 137-40.

was the great menace to their welfare. In their eyes all the vices of the Orient were summed up in the Chinese coolies, who were coming in such increasing numbers that it was felt their absolute exclusion was imperative. The few Japanese who came to America either were looked upon with indifference or were regarded with favor, for they seemed to possess the virtues, but not the vices of the Chinese. A writer in *Bradstreet's* in 1884, commenting on the arrival of 200 Japanese peasants in San Francisco, said:

It appears that emigration to the United States has at last commenced in Japan. . . . America is to be congratulated on these adjuncts to western industry. The Japanese peasants are as industrious as they are frugal, temperate, and skilled in agriculture.¹

As far as can be gathered from the few references to the Japanese in the press of that day, this seems to have been the general attitude of the American public. Because of the enforcement of the Chinese exclusion law, employers were hard pressed to find enough laborers to carry on their work. To supply this need they looked to the new Japanese immigrants who were regarded as more capable and efficient workmen.

In the early nineties, however, when the tide of Japanese immigration began rapidly to increase, the Japanese became unpopular in those communities in which they had congregated, and suffered the same

¹ *Bradstreet's*, Oct. 25, 1884, p. 268

odium that had formerly attached to the Chinese. Yoshio Markino gives the following vivid picture of the feeling then existing against the Japanese in San Francisco :

The next day I went to the Golden Gate Park with another Japanese. Whenever we passed before the crowds, they shouted "Jap" and "Sukebei" (the latter word is too rude to translate). Then some of them even spat on us. When we came out to the corner of Geary Street, pebbles were showered on us. This was my first and very last visit to the Golden Gate Park.

By the experiences day by day I had learnt that there was nothing but domestic work left for my livelihood, because the Californians didn't recognize us as the humans and they wouldn't accept any of our brain work.

Once while I was passing the spare ground on the corner of Fillmore Street and Geary Street some big fellow threw a large stone at me. It struck my head. My hat was broken and my head got hurt. I never took any notice but walked on.

A young lady was walking on the opposite side. She came to me and said, "Why don't you get a policeman to prison him?" I said, "No ma'am, it is quite useless, ma'am. I tried it once or twice before, but police don't take any notice of us Japanese."¹

At this time the Japanese were arriving on the Pacific coast at the rate of about 1,500 a year. By the year 1895 there were less than ten thousand Japanese in the United States. The fact that in spite of the

¹ Markino, Yoshio, *When I Was a Child*, pp. 215-27.

smallness of their numbers they had so soon become thoroughly disliked gives an inkling of the strength of the prejudice that existed then in our western states against the oriental races.

This unpopularity of the Japanese by no means checked their desire to come to America. In the year 1900 our Japanese immigrants numbered more than 12,000. For the next seven years those arriving direct from Japan together with those coming from Hawaii averaged about 11,000 a year. The Japanese authorities, who were fully aware of the American attitude toward oriental immigrants, tried to avoid the growth of further opposition by placing restrictions upon emigration to the United States. The strong demand, however, for Japanese laborers to work on the sugar plantations in Hawaii caused thousands to go there for employment. Once in Hawaii they were out of jurisdiction of the Japanese government, and there was nothing to prevent them from going on to the mainland where wages were higher and more congenial work could be found. Japanese agents and contractors were not slow to avail themselves of this opportunity, and as a result an almost continuous stream of Japanese was poured into our western ports through this gateway of the Pacific.

Even this comparatively large number of Japanese laborers could easily have been absorbed in our large western states without producing much friction, if they had been distributed more evenly in different places. But California was the most convenient, as well as the

most attractive place for them to settle and as a consequence fifty-five per cent of the Japanese immigrants crowded into a few of its cities and country districts. San Francisco, the chief port of entry, became their most important place of rendezvous and residence while searching for work. This concentration of the Japanese in a small section of our country served to call attention to their presence and made their competition in the labor market more keenly felt.

As soon as American laborers realized that the presence of the Japanese was making their struggle for existence harder, their latent prejudice against them as Orientals broke out into open hostility. Politicians and labor leaders were quick to make capital out of this issue in order to promote their own interests. Racial differences were emphasized and race prejudice was appealed to until the economic factor was almost pushed into the background, and the problem assumed the proportions of a racial struggle between the East and the West.

The active campaign against the Japanese may be said to have begun with the publication in February, 1905, in the *San Francisco Chronicle* of a series of articles which in sensational language pointed out the dangers of this new Yellow Peril. Said the *Chronicle*:

The issue involves the entire structure and character of American society and concerns the manual laborer not one whit more than others. . . . Sufficient has already occurred here to make it plain that if Japanese immigration is unchecked, it is only a question of time

when our rural population will be Japanese, our rural civilization Japanese, and the white population hard pressed in our cities and towns. The Chinese were faithful laborers and did not buy land. The Japanese are unfaithful laborers and do buy land. There is all the difference in the world. They are driving their stakes in our fruit-growing districts where they intend to stay and possess the land. The people of California are determined that they shall do neither. And we are prepared to take that stand and insist upon it, regardless of the consequences to our fruit industry, our sugar beet industry, or any other industry. What work cannot be done without oriental labor, that work must go unperformed. Our fruit industries are important. Our land, our homes, and our civilization are far more important. And they are in danger.¹

On May 7, 1905, the first anti-Japanese convention met in San Francisco and adopted a resolution protesting against the national policy which permitted Japanese immigrants to come to our shores and lower the standards of American civilization. About the same time the San Francisco Board of Education passed an action stating that it would be necessary to segregate Japanese from white pupils in the public schools. In the autumn of that year, the newly organized Japanese and Korean Exclusion League urged the Board of Education to carry into effect the policy of the segregation of Japanese pupils. The Board of Education, however, did not deem it wise to do so at that time.²

¹ Quoted by the *Literary Digest*, Mar. 25, 1905, pp. 420-21.

² Kawakami, K. K., *American-Japanese Relations*, pp. 305-6.

Meanwhile the attention of the whole country was called to the anti-Japanese sentiment in California, which threatened to involve the nation in international complications. The American public in general manifested surprise and indignation at the attitude of the Californians. Those who had been watching sympathetically the remarkable progress of the Japanese nation and whose contact with the Japanese was limited to their association with a few Japanese students or officials utterly failed to comprehend the situation on the Pacific coast. From their point of view an act of injustice was being done to a people who merited our kindest consideration. The *Washington Evening Star* in the following words expressed the general attitude of the people in the eastern states :

To the extent that there has been any actual outbreak of anti-Japanese feeling anywhere in this country, the people of the United States have occasion to be ashamed of themselves. . . . If the people of the coast are in truth engaged in any form of anti-Japanese crusade or are showing a prejudice against the Japanese, they are open to the emphatic condemnation of the whole people of this country. Our interests in the Far East, to speak commercially, are too heavy and important to be placed in jeopardy by a wanton insult of the dominant power. Our good faith as a nation is pledged to the observance of certain international proprieties. Let proper representations be made to the Japanese people that will repudiate the mistakes and follies of those who are now engaged in this foolish, dangerous propaganda.”¹

¹ Quoted by the *Literary Digest*, Nov. 3, 1906, p. 622.

President Roosevelt, in his message to Congress in December, 1905, gave considerable space to the California-Japanese problem and in strong terms repudiated the exclusion movement. Later in the month, after receiving Secretary Metcalf's special report on the situation in California, he sent another message to Congress in which he reiterated his former views and spoke of the injustice of discrimination against the Japanese pupils.¹

This Federal opposition to the segregation of Japanese pupils had some influence on those in authority in San Francisco, for no immediate attempt was made to carry their segregation policy into effect. On April 18, 1906, occurred the San Francisco earthquake which caused the destruction of thirty-six out of seventy-five schools in the city. In the autumn of that year the Board of Education of San Francisco, claiming that because of the recent calamity their school accommodations were inadequate, ordered the oriental children to attend a separate school. When this order was issued there were ninety-three Japanese pupils attending twenty-three schools and it was asserted that, distributed as they were in various parts of the city, they could have been accommodated without overtaxing the capacity of any school. The school board endeavored to justify their action by pointing out the danger of allowing Japanese young men to sit in the same classes with white girls in the primary

¹ The *Congressional Record*, 59th Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Doc. No. 147

grades. Since they did not make public the fact that there were but six Japanese boys above fifteen years of age in the primary grades at that time, their cry of the moral peril of innocent children served the purpose of gaining much sympathy for their cause.

The Japanese on their part were so offended at this act of discrimination against them that they refused to send their children to the oriental school. Formal protests received from Japan through the regular diplomatic channels further complicated the affair and made it necessary for the Federal government to take a hand in bringing about a settlement. After considerable negotiations the San Francisco school authorities ended the difficulty by adopting regulations which defined the age limits within which alien children could attend the different grades of the public schools, an arrangement which was perfectly satisfactory to the Japanese, since it avoided invidious race distinctions. This compromise was agreed to by the authorities in San Francisco upon the consideration that the Federal government should take steps to stop the immigration of Japanese laborers.¹

During the progress of these negotiations, the bitter feeling against the Japanese in San Francisco broke out in open acts of violence. Japanese places of business were attacked and wrecked, and assaults were made upon Japanese in different parts of the city. Dr. T. Omori, recognized as an authority on seismog-

¹ Kennan, George, "Japanese in San Francisco Schools," the *Outlook*, 86: 246.

raphy, who had been sent to San Francisco by the Tokyo Imperial University to investigate the causes and effects of the earthquake, was stoned by a crowd of ruffians while engaged in his scientific observations. It should be remembered, however, that San Francisco at that time was in a disorganized condition and that the disorderly elements in the city were with difficulty kept under control.

In February, 1907, Congress, in response to the demands of the people of California, took its first step toward the exclusion of the Japanese by incorporating in the Immigration Act the following provision:

Whenever the President shall be satisfied that passports issued by any foreign government to its citizens to go to any other country than the United States, or to any insular possession of the United States, or to the Canal Zone, are being used for the purpose of enabling the holders to come to the continental territories of the United States to the detriment of the labor conditions therein, the President may refuse such citizens of the country issuing such passports to enter the continental territory of the United States from such other country or from such insular possessions or from the Canal Zone.¹

In accordance with this action President Roosevelt on March 14, 1907, issued a proclamation excluding from continental United States "Japanese or Korean laborers, skilled or unskilled, who have received passports to go to Mexico, Canada, or Hawaii, and come therefrom." This regulation stopped the flow of

¹ *Senate Documents*, 61st Congress, 21: 110.

Japanese immigration from Hawaii as well as that across the border from Canada and Mexico, but it was still within the power of the Japanese government to grant passports that would give the right of entrance into the United States. Japan, however, knowing full well that further Japanese immigration might lead to a direct act of exclusion, asserted its intention to issue passports to continental United States only to non-laborers, or to laborers who were former residents, or settled agriculturalists. This so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement" has been strictly adhered to by the Japanese authorities and has effectively stopped the immigration of Japanese laborers.¹

In 1911, when America and Japan entered upon negotiations for a new treaty, the people on the Pacific coast and especially in California demanded that the treaty should expressly provide for the exclusion of Japanese laborers. The American government, however, thought it unnecessary to subject Japan to this humiliation, since the problem was being satisfactorily solved by a voluntary agreement. The following note,

¹ The Commissioner General of Immigration in his report for the year 1909 (p. 121) expressed the following opinion about the "Agreement": "The experiment certainly with the cooperation of the Japanese government, much more completely accomplished the exclusion of Japanese laborers, as defined in the regulations putting the arrangement into effect than have the Chinese exclusion laws ever operated to prevent the immigration of Chinese laborers as defined in such laws, and is working at this moment with a greater degree of relative success."

Mr. Tokutomi in an article in the *Kokumin Shimbun* of Dec. 26, 1914, said that "the 'Agreement' has made it almost as difficult to get to America as it is to get to heaven."

issued by the Japanese Ambassador at Washington, reasserted Japan's willingness to continue her policy of restriction of emigration and still stands as the only barrier in the way of our invasion by hordes of Japanese laborers :

In proceeding this day to the signature of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Japan and the United States, the undersigned, Japanese Ambassador in Washington, duly authorized by his government, has the honor to declare that the Imperial Japanese Government are fully prepared to maintain with equal effectiveness the limitation and control which they have for the past three years exercised in regulation of the emigration of laborers to the United States.¹

In such a manner has the door of the United States been closed to Japanese laborers. As far as external appearances were concerned, the door was not slammed in their faces as it was in the case of the Chinese in 1882 when actual exclusion laws were enacted. It is nevertheless well known that all diplomatic negotiations were at a deadlock before the Japanese very cleverly got out of the difficulty by adopting a policy which proved satisfactory to America and at the same time did not cut them off entirely from the privilege of immigration to this country. In discussions of the Japanese immigration problem, it does not always seem to be clearly recognized that the existing agreement applies only to unskilled laborers and that with the exception of this one class there is no bar to the

¹ *Treaties, Conventions, and Agreements between the United States of America and Other Powers*, vol. 3, p. 82.

entrance of Japanese into the United States. A glance at the accompanying table will reveal the fact that since 1909, when the effects of the agreement were first seen, there has been a gradual increase in the number of Japanese immigrants until now more are landing on the Pacific coast than arrived twelve years ago when matters first reached a crisis.

NUMBER OF JAPANESE ARRIVALS¹

<i>Year</i>	<i>Continental U.S.</i>	<i>Hawaii</i>	<i>Total</i>
1902	5,325	9,130	14,455
1903	6,990	13,051	20,041
1904	7,771	6,611	14,382
1905	4,319	6,702	11,021
1906	5,178	9,065	14,243
1907	10,230	20,415	30,645
1908	9,544	8,694	18,238
1909	2,432	1,493	3,925
1910	2,598	1,527	4,125
1911	4,282	2,159	6,441
1912	5,358	3,231	8,589
1913	6,771	4,901	11,672
1914	8,462	4,554	13,016
1915	9,029	3,208	12,237
1916	9,100	3,607	12,707

While it is true that the Japanese authorities are living up to their agreement in regard to the restriction of the emigration of laborers, it is also true that the Japanese are still achieving their purpose of maintaining the open door into the United States. The exclusion agitation has simply resulted in raising the

¹ Taken from Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Immigration of the United States.

standard of Japanese immigrants instead of barring them from the country as is often popularly supposed. The experience of the past few years has proven that the exclusion of Japanese coolies will not necessarily be a check to Japanese immigration. The industrial and economic conditions in Japan are such that thousands of the middle classes—farmers, shopkeepers, and skilled artisans—are eager to come to America, where opportunities for success are so great. The gradual increase of Japanese immigrants during the past five years would seem to indicate on the part of the Japanese government a tendency to issue an increasing number of passports to America as long as no determined opposition would make such a course inadvisable. It is also worthy of note that a large proportion of recent Japanese immigration has consisted of women, a fact which is making possible the establishment of families and a further increase of our Japanese population through the birth of children. According to the *Japanese-American Yearbook*, 3,054 Japanese children were born in the United States in 1914.¹

¹ The *Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration*, 1915, classifies the Japanese arrivals during that year according to occupation as follows:

Professional	511
Skilled	509
Farmers and farm laborers.....	1,896
Laborers	817
Merchants	637
Miscellaneous	1,610
No occupation, including women and children..	3,049
Total	9,029

While this attempt to close the door to the Japanese has resulted in at least a partial failure, there is no evidence of a change of heart on the part of the American people. The public opinion of practically the whole nation demands the restriction of Asiatic immigration, whether it be from Japan or China or India.

In 1909 Mr. Roosevelt gave expression in the following words to an opinion which is now shared even by many of those most favorably disposed toward the Japanese:

The Americans who go to Japan and the Japanese who come to America should be of the same general class—that is, they should be travelers, students, teachers, scientific investigators, men engaged in international business, men sojourning in the land for pleasure or study.

As long as the emigration from each side is limited to classes such as these, there will be no settlement in mass, and therefore no difficulty. Wherever there is settlement in mass—that is, whenever there is a large immigration of urban or agricultural laborers, or of people engaged in small local business of any kind—there is sure to be friction. It is against the interests of both nations that such unrestricted immigration or settlement in mass should be allowed as regards either nation. This is the cardinal fact in the situation; it should be freely recognized by both countries and can be accepted by each not only without the slightest loss of self-respect, but with the certainty that its acceptance will tend to preserve mutual respect and friendliness.¹

¹ Roosevelt, Theodore, "The Japanese Question," the *Outlook*, 92: 61.

The necessity of our placing restrictions upon oriental immigration is no longer questioned even by the Japanese. Our present injustice in their opinion consists in our discrimination against them, our closing the door to their people while holding it open to laborers from all the countries of Europe.

CHAPTER IV

THE PROBLEM FROM THE JAPANESE VIEWPOINT

THE opposition shown to the Japanese immigrants in America has stirred the Japanese nation profoundly, and has aroused such deep feelings of resentment among the people that at times war has seemed almost inevitable. The Japanese government itself, while maintaining its attitude of friendliness toward America, has, in its efforts to adjust the difficulty by diplomacy, followed a firm and aggressive policy that plainly recognizes the seriousness of the questions at issue. The more frank and outspoken among the Japanese have not hesitated to express their indignation against America in words of open defiance.

During the progress of the negotiations in 1906 to restrict Japanese immigration, Marquis Okuma, then not officially connected with the government, voiced the feelings of many of his countrymen in a telegram to the *New York World* which read in part as follows:

Any repetition of the injustices against Japanese will seriously impair our warm feelings toward America, and our traditional friendship will be weakened thereby. Fair and just treatment is essential to maintain friendship. Repeated outrageous acts will not only damage American interests, but also disgrace American civilization. . . . America has no enemy at present, and it will be a thoughtless policy if America purposely makes an

enemy by inflaming public opinion against Japan. The United States is the wealthiest country in the world, but it has not sufficient defense in the Pacific if the two nations are to come to hostilities.

There is nothing more dreadful than crazy persons. The Japanese are a crazy nation in fighting, and will display their madness as in the late war. The Japanese are always ready to throw away their lives for their nation; they regard their lives as lightly as they do the weather. On the other hand, Americans and Europeans attach the chief importance to money. Those who love money love their lives. Suppose the two nations, whose ideas toward death are fundamentally different, should fight. The final result is easily seen, and the understanding of this fact seems to be the cause of America trying to expand the navy on a great scale.¹

Another Japanese, Mr. Adachi Kinnosuke, in an article in the *Independent* in 1907 on "The Attitude of Japan toward the United States," expressed himself even more frankly to the American public:

Is the Japanese government a special institution established for the sole purpose of comforting an unreasonable whim of American labor unions, at the expense of the material interests of say 200,000 Japanese laboring class who may manage to come into this country within the coming ten years? Why not the same undaunted front which we had turned upon our friends, the Russians, a few years ago? It is the pleasure of the Californian to place us on the same plane with the Chinese and with the extinct race called the Korean. And we ask for an exclusion convention and beg for the sweet humiliation before anybody suggests it.

¹ Quoted in Lawton, L., *The Empires of the Far East*, vol. 1, pp. 362-64.

Is Japan, then, afraid of America? When a question of national honor is before us, we would not hesitate a moment to take up arms against all the gods and the devils, let alone an earthly power. This is no rhetoric. When we declared war against China everybody thought, ourselves included, and even the most enlightened press of that torchbearer of civilization called the United States, all thought that the Middle Kingdom had a rather light before-the-breakfast job; and today we of Nippon certainly do not think that America is anything as serious a foe as Russia seemed to us in 1904.

Some wise people, gentlemen in the Foreign Office at Tokyo, and some of your Washington officials, take you for innocent babies and seriously tell you that it is the national policy of Japan to keep her working people at home, in Korea, and Manchuria; in just that portion of the globe, in short, where she is more likely to be called upon to take serious measures. But reflect for a moment upon this: We are supporting well nigh fifty millions of people on 190,534 square miles (I have counted in everything, Formosa, Sakhalin, Pescadores), sixty per cent of which are volcanic rocks unavailable for cultivation; while California supports not very much more than two millions on her 158,360 square miles; we are increasing at the rate of about 700,000 a year, our Californians at about 28,000. Don't you think that our country may spare a few hundred thousand laboring class to come over to this paradise of laboring people and share in its blessings?¹

There is no doubt that the above fairly represented the feelings of a large portion of the Japanese people when the exclusion agreement went into effect. This rejection of their immigrants seemed to them an insult

¹ *The Independent*, vol. 62, 1907, p. 1458.

which no first-class power could afford to overlook. After having made so much progress in western civilization, they bitterly resented being treated as though they were still ignorant and undesirable Asiatics.¹ Both their pride as a nation and their prestige in the world were injured, and many felt that even though it involved recourse to desperate measures their national honor must be vindicated.

The leaders of the Japanese nation, however, did not allow themselves to be swayed by public opinion. In accordance with their agreement, passports to America were refused to Japanese laborers, and every effort was made in an official way to maintain the old friendly attitude toward the American people.

The excitement occasioned by the exclusion agreement had hardly died down before the passage of the California alien land law² in 1913 again brought the immigration problem before the attention of the public. This new act of discrimination against the Japanese immigrants caused another wave of anti-American feeling in Japan which threatened to result in serious complications. From the viewpoint of the Japanese this new move of the Californians seemed entirely unjustifiable. Their part of the exclusion agreement had been carried out so strictly that the immigration

¹ Tokutomi, "America Forward, Japan Backward," *Kokumin Shimbun*, Dec. 29, 1914.

² This law provided that only aliens eligible to citizenship under the laws of the United States could possess land in the state. Since the Japanese are not eligible to citizenship, this deprived them of the right to purchase any land, whether for agricultural, business, or residential purposes.

of Japanese laborers had practically ceased. The old cry of the Californians that they were in danger of being overrun by Asiatic hordes could no longer be made. In the eyes of the Japanese this attempt to dispossess their countrymen in California was simply an act of unwarranted hostility inspired by race hatred. It brought them new evidence that they were still regarded as an inferior race, unfit to associate with the West on terms of social equality.

Their contention with America seemed to them to involve far more than an outlet for Japan's surplus population. They regarded it as a struggle for rights the possession of which were necessary for the honor of their nation. In the war with Russia Japan fought against European aggression which threatened her continued existence as an independent power. In the diplomatic struggle with America Japan was still continuing her efforts to overcome the domineering attitude of the West.¹ How vital this struggle seemed

¹ Professor Ryotaro Nagai of Waseda University in an article on "The White Peril" (*Japan Magazine*, May, 1914) wrote as follows: "If one race assumes the right to appropriate all the wealth, why should not all the other races feel ill used and protest? If the yellow races are oppressed by the white races, and have to revolt to avoid congestion and maintain existence, whose fault is it but that of the aggressors? . . . If the white races truly love peace, and wish to deserve the name of Christian nations, they will practice what they preach and will soon restore to us the rights so long withheld. . . . Any suggestion that we must be forever content to remain inferior races will not abide. Such an attitude is absolutely inconsistent with our honor as a nation and our sovereign rights as independent states. We therefore appeal to the white races to put aside their race prejudice and meet us on equal terms in brotherly cooperation."

to them is revealed in the following statement by Dr. Masao Kobe, a professor in Kyoto Imperial University:

If we let the California anti-Japanese movement stand where it is now, it simply means increasing injury to the dignity of our country. . . . If our government could not see the anti-alien land law nullified and naturalization rights affirmed by the American people, if there were any signs of weakness in diplomatic negotiations with the United States, China might begin to mock us and the Koreans might become disobedient to the Japanese administration. The position of Japan, then, is worse than the defeated nation in a big war. As Japan stands now, she is a badly whipped nation by the Americans, and the American jingoes tell us that the Americans would, if war started between the two countries, in the end whip Japan. But they have already whipped us. Japan therefore neither loses nor gains, whether she went to war with United States and got whipped just as the American jingoes predicted. So she might just as well go to war. Of course we do not like war, but do the Americans know what they are doing against us?

If the Japanese have less human rights in any shape or form, and have to enjoy less life and property than any first-class power in the world, Japan loses her prestige in Asia, which position corresponds to complete defeat after she dared to go to war.¹

This same view is expressed in a more temperate form by Dr. Juichi Soyeda, former Vice Minister of Finance:

The fundamental question in the California land trouble is that of discrimination. It is a matter of honor. If for the purpose of self-protection the United States

¹ *New York Japan Review*, Sept., 1913, p. 163.

determine that no alien should hold land, that would be all well and good. The United States would have a perfect right to do so, and everyone would respect that right. But when we alone are discriminated against, we feel that we must protest.¹

From the Japanese viewpoint this is the crux of the whole problem. Those who criticize the Japanese government for taking so seriously a seemingly trivial affair, overlook the fact that an important principle is involved. The Japanese insist that they have developed far enough in western civilization and culture to receive equal treatment in all their foreign relations. If they meekly submit to discrimination, it is a confession of their inferiority. Their national honor is at stake and so all the forces of their nation are united in a determination to win out in this struggle against what they feel is western arrogance.

For more than ten years this irritating problem has been before the Japanese people. It has formed a fruitful theme for discussion both in the newspaper press and on the public rostrum. The constant reiteration of the wrongs endured by their countrymen in California has done much to arouse in Japan a public opinion if not hostile to America at least unfriendly and suspicious. Especially was this unfriendly spirit manifest in Japan during the closing months of 1914, when a large portion of the American press showed marked sympathy for China and expressed disapproval

¹ Quoted in editorial in *New York Japan Review*, Dec., 1913, p. 278.

of Japan's aggressive oriental policy. This was the added fuel necessary to cause their resentment against America to burst forth into flame. Their newspapers began to publish bellicose articles and even the common talk of the people on the street was about war with America. In the pamphlet entitled *The Friendship of America for Japan*, issued in connection with the visit of Dr. Shailer Mathews and Dr. Sidney L. Gulick to the Orient, appear the following quotations from letters written by residents of Japan for the purpose of informing this "Christian Embassy" of the attitude of the Japanese toward America:¹

For a long time I was unwilling to believe that the Japanese people at large cherished feelings of enmity towards America, but the evidence that they are waiting eagerly for an opportunity to go to war with us is getting too strong to be any longer ignored except by those who are wilfully blind or wholly out of touch with conditions here. Not only is the "jingo" tone of much of the press very pronounced (I have been shocked at some of the offensive things I have seen in the Japanese papers), but the common talk is all toward war.—*Kyushu, Sept. 4, 1914.*

It is remarkable what a common opinion there is among the common people that war between Japan and the United States is inevitable. The jingoistic press has pounded that idea early and late until the people are coming to believe it.—*Central Japan, Oct. 7, 1914.*

You cannot fail to have recognized in the Japanese press the tone of bitterness and irritation that charac-

¹ For obvious reasons these quotations were published in the pamphlet unsigned.

terizes many of their articles on American-Japanese relations, and also the fact that they tend to put a sinister interpretation on many of the acts of our government and of individual Americans. I find unmistakable evidence of the widely spread feeling of irritation and resentment.—*Kyoto, Nov. 9, 1914.*

I regret to say that the campaign of virulence against the United States still goes on in the vernacular press, and since the outbreak of war in Europe seems to be more bitter than ever. That this is not my opinion alone you will see from the clippings showing protests from both Japan and America. It is the same thing that went on for some time before the rupture of relations with Russia, and I fear it will lead to trouble again unless the people of Japan be given an opportunity of knowing the other side.—*Tokyo, Nov. 16, 1914.*

This series of quotations is closed with the following frank statement written by a Japanese of international standing:

I am indeed sorry to say that a strong undercurrent of anti-American sentiment is flowing in Japan and it may burst out at any opportunity. It is not simply an effect of the California question, but the more powerful and irritating cause lies in China. Concession after concession made to America by China, and a most irritating one, a proposal of conceding a naval station for America in Fukien (opposite Formosa), are causing suspicion and resentment against America to grow without a check.

In spite of all this outcry against America, it would be a mistake to suppose that this unfriendly attitude is characteristic of all Japan. Many Japanese recognize that there are two sides to the immigration

problem. They willingly admit that the economic and racial questions involved offer difficulties that cannot be settled in any offhand way. Unmoved by the popular clamor for drastic measures they are seeking to promote a better understanding of the real issue involved in their international relations. Some of these Japanese leaders are moved by a genuine friendship for America. Others have at heart only the economic welfare of their country. But whatever their motives they believe that a peaceful solution of the difficulty can and must be found.

It is not at all unusual for influential Japanese in their discussions of the American-Japanese problem to place a large share of the blame upon the immigrants themselves. Dr. Soyeda and Mr. Kamiya, two prominent Japanese who were sent to America to investigate conditions in California and to study American sentiment, gave this advice to their countrymen:

There is much to be done by the Japanese themselves both in America and at home. In the first place those who are already in the States must strive more and more for assimilation with the people and observance of the laws and customs of the land. They must work strenuously to remedy their faults and do nothing to startle and irritate the people with whom they are living. Nothing must be done which would furnish material for attack, but any criticism, if well founded and reasonable, must be welcomed. . . .

A part of the unnecessary expenses incurred by the Japanese for clothes and food might far better be used for the betterment of their dwellings and sanitation.

Their living in segregation or near the Chinese and frequenting Chinese gambling houses must be stopped, while more church-going and rest on Sundays should be encouraged. Noisy Buddhistic rituals, playing of *samisens*, keeping of tea-houses which arouse opposition and afford room for criticism might better be avoided. Studying the language, customs, and manners of the Americans, and closer intercourse especially among the women and children will go far towards bringing about a better understanding. A better use of savings could be made by means of credit associations, and opening public halls and libraries for the common benefit will do much toward mental and moral improvement. Every effort must be made to cast off the old undesirable customs and to adapt themselves to the new environment, so far as it is required by decency and courtesy.¹

The above represents an attitude toward the problem that is becoming more usual among well-informed Japanese. Their leaders who investigate actual conditions see that many of the Japanese immigrants are more or less uneducated laborers who would not be regarded as desirable associates even by the better class of Japanese themselves. Consequently, while they regret the prejudice that exists against their people, they do not condemn the Americans wholesale as acting in an entirely unreasonable way. One of Japan's leading business men, Mr. K. Otani, who has been a frequent visitor to America, frankly said:

The majority of Japanese working in America are without education and cannot adapt themselves to the

¹ Soyeda, J., and Kamiya, *A Survey of the Japanese Question in California*, 1913, pp. 12-13.

customs of their new country. They cannot associate on equal terms with their new friends. Such being the case, only the lowest section of the Japanese are being discriminated against or excluded in America. The more respectable classes of Japanese are well treated and respected by the Americans. It is a striking illustration of this fact that there has been no anti-Japanese movement in Chicago or New York. In California and other Pacific coast states only has unfriendliness been shown toward our people. This is because many Japanese in those regions are unworthy.¹

It is worthy of note that articles of this nature are found not only in books intended for American readers, but are quite frequently published in Japanese periodicals. When a Japanese who has traveled in America returns to Japan, the question upon which he is asked to talk and write most frequently is the condition of the Japanese immigrants. Usually these reports frankly recognize the harm that is being done Japan's reputation by the large number of low-class Japanese in California. They admit that the indiscriminate immigration in the past was a serious mistake and they urge the Japanese government to send worthy men to America who will be a credit to their country.

Some influential Japanese writers are taking the viewpoint that the problem can be settled best in a peaceful way and that upon the Japanese in America rests a large share of the responsibility of bringing this about. Dr. Ukita, in an article in the *Taiyo*, May, 1913, said that the right of naturalization which the

¹ *Japan's Message to America*, p. 62.

Japanese are demanding can best be gained if the Japanese immigrants will give due regard to the following points: (1) They must resolve to reside permanently in America. (2) They must not segregate themselves in separate communities, but must associate with the Americans freely. (3) They must try to adopt the manners and customs of the Americans. (4) They must have high regard for the American form of government. (5) They must endeavor to become faithful and loyal Americans.

This aspect of the problem, however, has not as yet been emphasized sufficiently to modify to any great extent the attitude of the Japanese people. In general they simply regard the discrimination against their immigrants as a reflection upon their national honor, without giving due consideration to all the different factors involved. The racial and national aspects of the problem are the only ones they are willing to see. America, they believe, has treated their nation unjustly. The first and important thing to be insisted upon is their rights, and as long as these are being disregarded they are in no mood to consider the whole situation calmly. The present view of many intelligent Japanese is thus summed up by Dr. S. Suyehiro, professor in the law school of Kyoto Imperial University:

In this condition of affairs it is only a question of time when our people in California will be entirely wiped out, with which the anti-Japanese elements in the state should be contented. But far from that they want to destroy Japanese industry there as quickly as possible;

hence the enactment of the Alien Land Law. Further, there are rumors that a bill for depriving us of our right of leasing agricultural land will be introduced to the state legislature next year. They have already smitten us on our right cheek; now they seem to demand of us to turn our left to them. What would America do if she were Japan? Would she endure all this discrimination and humiliation without a murmur? I for one do not think that the self-assertive Americans would submit to such treatment as we are receiving at their hands.

We are a peace-loving nation. Our endurance has stood the successive tests of the Manchurian railway question, the school affair, the immigration flurry, the California land law dispute; it will stand more because we are bent on the maintenance of peace. But with a view to a speedy and amicable settlement of the outstanding complication, we claim that America accede to one of the two alternatives—the granting of the right of naturalization to the Japanese, or the conclusion of a treaty to guarantee their rights of owning land or of leasing farms. I venture to say this is no extravagant claim. Justice demands that America shall treat the Japanese on equal terms with European immigrants, since she has permitted the former to enter and live on her land. If it is a question of granting such rights to millions of Japanese, it may be too serious for America to consent; but it is a matter that involves only 90,000 residents. Is she still reluctant to comply with our claim? If she rejects it, I am afraid that the day will come when our friendship toward her shall cease.¹

¹ *Japan's Message to America*, pp. 68-69. A similar view was expressed in an editorial on the Japanese-American problem in *Kahoku Shimpō*, Sendai, Dec. 6, 1914. Mr. Oshikawa in the *Michi*, Dec., 1914, says that "for a solution of the American problem we must not depend upon diplomacy but upon the actual power of the country."

CHAPTER V

THE JAPANESE "MENACE"

ANY attempt to interpret the present status of American public opinion toward the Japanese must give due recognition to the fact that no unanimity of opinion exists. America is not a united nation with a sufficiently fixed national policy to dominate the whole country. In regard to most of our national problems there are sectional differences of opinion which are likely to render national policies unstable. Consequently, the sweeping statements that are so frequently made regarding America's friendliness for or hostility toward the Japanese are entirely misleading to both parties concerned. As a matter of fact public opinion in different localities varies from open hostility to admiration, depending upon the nature of the contact with the Japanese and also upon what is known about them through the various sources of information. Moreover, it is also true that widely divergent attitudes may be found in the same community or even in the same individual. Thus admiration and fear are frequently found side by side. It is often difficult to decide which is our predominating attitude until something happens to bring our latent feelings to the surface.

Americans who have returned home after a long

residence in Japan have sometimes experienced a revulsion of feeling against Japanese residing in the West. While in Japan, the Japanese peculiarities never struck their attention because they were the common thing, but here they diverge so much from the usual type that they seem objectionable. Even missionaries, noted for their kindly feelings for the Japanese, have confessed that it is difficult for them to maintain this same attitude toward the Japanese whom they chance to meet while home on furlough. Prestige and prejudice are in fact not far apart. One attitude sometimes gives way to the other even when changes in the situation do not seem sufficient to justify it. It is the existence of these divergent and contradictory attitudes that complicates our Japanese problem and makes it so difficult for the American people to be consistent in their treatment of the Japanese.

These divergent attitudes can be accounted for only by the fact that the presence of the Japanese constitutes a race problem which brings in all the conflicting emotions involved in race prejudice. The Japanese show such wide variations from our ways of appearing and acting that our elemental feelings of antipathy are aroused against them. This makes an inevitable conflict in our minds when we attempt to judge them fairly according to their merits, and as a result inconsistencies appear in our dealings with them. How this comes about is made clear by Bailey's analysis of race prejudice, which he classifies into race enmity, race pride, and race conscience. Race enmity, he says, is found chiefly

among those in economic competition with the opposing race on the lower levels; race pride is more social and aesthetic and is a loyalty to race traditions which seem to be endangered by the encroachments of outsiders; race conscience appears on a still higher level, and while recognizing the existence of different racial types estimates them from a more scientific and humanitarian point of view. The feeling tones that accompany these three attitudes he designates as "anger, fear, and love; or putting them into the language of attitudes we might call them 'hate, anxiety-obsession, and benevolent kindness.'"¹ A study of American public opinion regarding the Japanese reveals the existence of these three well-defined attitudes around which may be grouped our discussion of the problem from the American viewpoint.

Without doubt, there exists among many Americans a feeling of genuine friendliness for the Japanese. The attitudes of antipathy and distrust, which are more or less widespread, must by no means be regarded as shared by all the people in America. It is very easy, in fact, to get an exaggerated view of the opposition to the Japanese, because stories dealing with that phase of the question make better news than facts expressive of our friendliness, and consequently get wider publicity. This attitude of friendliness and good will is based partly on our former tendency to idealize the Japanese, a fact which has already been mentioned.

¹ Bailey, T. P., *Race Orthodoxy in the South*, p. 47. Neale Pub. Co.

The novelties of their civilization and their great eagerness to acquire our culture aroused a deep interest in their welfare. Their later victories on land and sea and their success in organizing their nation along modern lines have caused many to think highly of their ability and greatness. In American periodicals have appeared numerous articles on Japan in which such statements as the following were made:

Japan is today one of the most thoroughly and highly organized countries in the world; it is doubtful if there is in any other country such unanimity of opinion, such passionate devotion to the ruler, such eagerness to die for the sake of the country.¹

While the Japanese stand on the same general plane of culture as the peoples of Europe and North America, they are distinct rivals with them for preeminence on that plane, by reason of the number of points wherein they are demonstrably supreme.²

It is difficult to take in the moral greatness of the Japanese whose Imperial line has never been broken; whose family life persists through centuries; whose heroes, men and women, show a spirit of sacrifice that is the very key to the highest moral life; and whose virtues are so virile that they can appropriate within the narrow limits of one generation all the great liberties of our modern civilization and all the humanity that is embodied in the world-wide Red Cross society.³

¹ Editorial, the *Outlook*, June 4, 1904.

² Buckley, E., "*The Japanese as Peers of Western People*," *Amer. Journ. Soc.*, Nov., 1905, p. 327.

³ De Forest, J. H., "*Moral Greatness of the Japanese People*," the *Independent*, July 9, 1908, p. 87.

It is very natural that those who share views similar to these should be very indignant at the opposition shown to the Japanese immigrants on the Pacific coast. In their eyes it is not only an insult to a great nation but it is a shortsighted policy to exclude the Japanese, who seem more likely to make a better contribution to our country than do the immigrants from southern Europe. The efficiency of Japanese laborers, their adaptability to new surroundings, and their efforts to conform to American dress and customs, are pointed out as qualities which prove their fitness for American life. It is held, furthermore, that the West as well as the East will profit by the mingling of the two civilizations. Our dislike of the Orient, they claim, is based upon our ignorance. A more careful study of oriental culture would deepen our appreciation and put to shame our spirit of intolerance.

Ever since the rise of the Japanese problem in California, the Japanese have not lacked for champions among intelligent Americans, who, moved both by a sense of justice and by a genuine admiration for this oriental nation, have tried to overcome the opposition against them. The desire to treat Japan in a just and friendly manner has always been the attitude of our Federal government. Even when the differences between the two countries seemed most difficult to adjust, this friendly attitude has been maintained.

An incident related in a recent address in Chicago by Dr. Edward A. Steiner well illustrates the policy of our government. During the long negotiations

between the two governments regarding the California Alien Land Bill, Secretary Bryan and Ambassador Chinda had many consultations in regard to the best means of adjusting the difficulty. In the course of one particularly unsatisfactory conference, Viscount Chinda abruptly arose to leave, and said: "Is this the last word America has to say about the matter?" If Bryan's answer had been "yes," diplomatic negotiations would likely have been broken off and serious consequences might have occurred. The situation, however, was saved by Bryan's more tactful reply, "There is no last word between friends."¹ Further negotiations were resumed and the matter was temporarily adjusted upon the basis of friendship.

The present attitude of our government toward Japan is well expressed in this sentence from a letter written by President Wilson to Dr. Shailer Mathews on December 14, 1914:

That the feeling of our government toward Japan is one of genuine friendship, I think you believe as strongly as I do, and any message of friendship and cooperation and mutual good will is undoubtedly from the American people themselves.²

This feeling of friendliness and good will toward the Japanese can be found even in California, the stronghold of anti-Japanese sentiment. There is a disposition.

¹ To commemorate this incident Mr. Bryan has had a bayonet made into a paper weight in the shape of a small plow on which are inscribed the above words.

² *The Friendship of America for Japan*, p. 32.

on the part of some of its citizens to give due recognition to the part the Japanese are taking in developing the resources of that state. Their patience and skill in turning barren wastes into fruitful fields are commended. Miss Alice M. Brown, of Florin, California, in describing the work of the Japanese in her community, said:

By their sheer pluck and wonderful industry they have changed the whole face of the land from barren, unfertile fields to the fairest of vineyards and strawberry patches. And to do so they had to face tremendous obstacles which the white man never would have surmounted. Beginning with no capital they make the place pay for itself. They know how to live within their means, to live frugally, but when they are on their feet and their home is paid for, they spend for the American food and comfort for which they yearn.

They are crowding no one out of the land by their industry; that very land would be lying bare and idle if they did not occupy it. The whites spurned it for thirty years and they are no more ambitious today. They want better land, which does not entail such constant, ceaseless effort to wring a profit from it. There is always a class who are jealous of anyone who works and prospers, and because of the peaceable, humble disposition of these people they are doubly bold in their attacks upon them. It is the dog in the manger attitude. There is plenty of room in this great state for all who want land and who want to work. We are no overpopulated country like Belgium or Japan. We want people here who will till our soil and make our lands blossom with fruitfulness. They are a tremendous asset to the community and the state, and if it were not for

the racial bias that darkens and poisons the mind, they would be thrice welcome.

The Japanese are peaceable, law-abiding, tirelessly industrious, home-keeping, moral, temperate, grateful, and generous. They require no policing, there are no disturbances; no woman has ever been molested. That is a fit test for their worthiness as a people. What other alien race has such a record?¹

While such sentiments as these seem to be shared by only a small minority in California, there is an increasing tendency to admit the usefulness and efficiency of the Japanese in agriculture. Even those opposed to them on grounds of race admire the skill with which the Japanese farmers have reclaimed barren lands and thus added to the wealth of the state. Without doubt the Japanese have made a secure place for themselves in the fruit industry in certain sections of the Far West, and since the fear of a large increase in numbers has been removed, the more intelligent Americans do not resent their presence as much as was the case in the past.

The attitude of some of the leaders in educational circles in California is shown by the following statement regarding America's relations with Japan issued in 1914 by the presidents and deans of the various colleges and universities of southern California:

In view of the recent events which have tended to bring regret and distress to those persons who have cherished deeply the historic friendship between the

¹ Brown, Alice M., *Education — Not Legislation*, p. 4.

United States and Japan, and in view of the popular impression that a feeling of international ill will has its special source on our western coast and particularly in the state of California, the undersigned take the liberty of making public the following statement:

As American citizens and residents of California, we wish to express our deep conviction that the manifestation of genuine good will, happily characteristic of our relations with Japan, has been one of the most fortunate experiences of our whole international history. And, notwithstanding all appearances to the contrary, we believe that an appreciation of the great benefits accruing to both nations by reason of this friendship is firmly established among the thoughtful people of our coast and is rightfully a source of confident expectation that this friendship is permanently to continue.

In this connection we desire not only to assert our strong opposition to any additional anti-alien legislation but we are also opposed to any and all anti-alien legislation of whatever sort, which is discriminating in character, desiring only to preserve to each country in friendliest fashion those best elements of national personality which shall ultimately be of the largest mutual advantage. In this, also, we believe we are voicing the thoughtful citizenship of our state.

Many of those most interested in the promotion of good will toward Japan feel that a campaign of education is necessary in order to overcome existing suspicions and prejudices. The most recent important effort to this end was the establishment by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America¹ of a Com-

¹ This Council represents thirty different denominations. The number of local churches in these denominations is about 136,000 and the membership 17,000,000.

mission on Relations with Japan. This commission, in addition to its study of the problem of the relations of the two countries, appointed Dr. Shailer Mathews and Dr. Sidney L. Gulick—

. . . . to serve as a Christian Embassy to carry to the Christians of this land (Japan) the greetings of the Christians of America and the assurances that, in spite of certain appearances to the contrary, the real attitude of America as a whole is that of continued good will.¹

This "Christian Embassy" made an extended trip through Japan during February, 1915, and addressed large audiences in a number of the leading cities. The Japanese press gave their speeches wide publicity and in general commented favorably upon their efforts to convince the Japanese that a vast majority of the American people were not in sympathy with the anti-Japanese movement. After their return to America a similar campaign was carried on in this country for the purpose of developing a public opinion more favorably disposed toward the Japanese people.

That it was felt necessary to send this "Christian Embassy" to Japan with its message of good will bears witness to the existence of misunderstandings and feelings of dislike which at times have threatened to rupture the friendship of the two nations. As would be expected, this attitude of hostility and antipathy manifests itself particularly in those sections of the West where the Japanese have settled in the largest numbers.

For the past ten years or more the Californians have

¹ *The Friendship of America for Japan*, p. 3.

felt that the Japanese were a menace to their welfare. It was their violent protest against the coming of Japanese immigrants that brought the problem to the attention of the American public. Through their persistence and determination the inertia and indifference of the eastern states have been overcome and a public opinion formed that demands the exclusion of the Japanese. In order to gain their point the Californians marshaled every possible argument and appealed especially to the latent prejudice that the West has for the Far East. A California editor wrote:

Do the American people realize that they are now facing on our Pacific frontier what may easily become the most significant crisis which the western world has confronted since Thermopylae—a question not of policy or prosperity or progress, but of existence?

Nothing can keep our Pacific coast essentially a white man's country except our continual determination to keep it so. . . . It is a question on which a blunder once made can never be rectified. The frontier of the white man's world must be established some day, somewhere. Unless this generation establishes it at the Pacific coast no future generation will ever have the chance to establish it so far west, or to maintain it anywhere, except by war and permanent lines of garrisoned fortresses. The problem is ours in the next few years in California, Washington, Oregon, and in the Capitol and White House. The consequences are the whole world's, everywhere, forever. . . .

Asia has found us out, too, and the flood from the Orient has started. Nothing can stop it unless we do. We did stop it from China because China was helpless, but that helplessness will not last long. It has been

checked from Japan by the grace of Japan, but that grace may not last long. And we may stop it from India because we do not have to deal with India about it. But the reservoir that is tapped is limitless. Literally hundreds of millions of brown men, yellow men, and bronze men would now like to come to America for the same reasons that the Europeans wanted to come; for they will come, just as the Europeans have come, if they are equally free to do so. And then—the deluge.

The worst of it is that, temporarily and economically, we need them, and therefore some of our shortsighted capitalists desire them. It is a fair and empty land that awaits development, and it is capable of being exploited far more rapidly than the white man alone can do it. Industrially, the West can be full-grown in one generation, if we will permit it, but not by the labor of all the white men it can get. The West can absorb men faster than white men are consenting to come. A deliberate dog-in-the-manger policy is the only way to reserve for future generations of our race the resources which we have not time nor men to develop ourselves.¹

In the opinion of many people on the Pacific coast, a resolute stand must be taken in order to repel a possible yellow invasion. They feel that the coming of the Oriental, whether Chinese or Japanese, endangers their institutions. It is assumed that no matter how long the Japanese may reside in America they can never be assimilated.²

On the other hand, some Californians deny that their opposition to the Japanese is a matter of race prejudice.

¹ Rowell, C. H., "Orientphobia," *Collier's*, Feb. 6, 1909, p. 13.

² Woehlke, W. V., "Two Aspects of the Japanese Problem," the *Outlook*, 195: 480.

They place it frankly upon economic grounds, claiming that the white man cannot compete successfully with Orientals without lowering his standard of living. Thus a writer in *Sunset* said:

California's opposition is not because of race-hatred — there is no racial problem involved in the determination to eliminate the Japanese from economic consideration. Candidly, California acknowledges that Japanese given free rein within her borders would become commercial competitors against whom the white man could not hope to struggle successfully, for the Japanese, through sacrificial effort, are capable of accomplishing greater results than the white man, ever eager for his own personal pleasures and comforts. One is willing to work, work, work; the other insists upon varying his industry with a little honk-honking along the highway of joy. One will pillow his head upon a rock, if need be, and rest content; the other insists upon the maintenance of a standard which refuses the rock. Tokyo may assert that her national pride has been pricked, but nevertheless she knows that the real cause of the tempest is that her subjects figuratively have been picking California's pockets of profits and rapidly are attaining complete mastery of the communities in which they have settled.¹

Without doubt, both economic and racial factors are involved in the Japanese problem. It is impossible to find a single isolated cause of all the friction that exists. Viewed in its larger aspect, it is the meeting of the widely different civilizations of the East and the West, with all of its disturbing effect upon our

¹ Dunn, A., "Keeping the Coast Clear," *Sunset*, 31 : 124.

labor conditions and problems. Difference in standards of living that makes competition upon equal terms impossible, fear of being overwhelmed by numbers, differences in customs, language, and physical appearance, the ambition of the Japanese, which unfits them for servile positions—all these have in some measure contributed to the unpopularity of the Japanese in our western states.

Not every part of the West shares equally this feeling of dislike. Southern California looks upon the Japanese with far more tolerance than does northern California. While anti-Japanese feeling exists in both Washington and Oregon, neither of these states has followed California's example in the matter of radical anti-Japanese legislation. Fruit growers and other employers of labor are often favorably inclined toward the Japanese workmen.¹ Many sincerely believe that the Japanese are the best solution of the seasonal labor problem in the West, and protests are frequently made by large employers against the policy of shutting off such a valuable source of labor supply.

But the voices raised in favor of the Japanese are not able to drown the clamor for their continued exclusion and for the restriction of their opportunities. In many localities the Japanese are regarded as unfit to associate with Americans. There is in most western cities a strong feeling against permitting even wealthy Japanese to live in good resident sections. The Jap-

¹ Bramhall, J. T., "The Orient in California," the *World Today*, 20: 464.

anese Consul General at San Francisco, a well-educated and cultured gentleman, rented a house in one of the fashionable sections of the city. His neighbors strongly resented his presence, and it was only after considerable negotiations that their objections were withdrawn. The high-salaried representatives of some of the largest banks and business houses in Japan receive similar treatment if they attempt to live among Americans who are their equals in education and income. When one of these managers rented a house in Berkeley, the people threatened the provision dealers with boycott if they dared to sell him any food. Shima, a wealthy ranch owner, known as the "Potato King," purchased a home in a fashionable part of Berkeley, furnished it in good style, employed a large number of servants, and prepared to live as befitted a man of his means. Indignation was at once aroused in the city, and the newspapers published insulting articles referring to the yellow peril in the college town.¹ In university circles like Berkeley, Palo Alto, and Los Angeles, American families as a rule refuse to rent rooms to Japanese students. In Los Angeles the prejudice against the Japanese made it impossible for the Japanese students' club to purchase a desirable site on which to build a clubhouse.

This antipathy to the Japanese extends even to religious circles. In California, the Young Men's Christian Association will not give the Japanese the right of full membership. As a rule, they are permitted to

¹ *Asia at the Door*, pp. 147-50.

attend the English classes and religious meetings, but are denied the use of the gymnasium, swimming tank, and athletic field. Fraternal orders and trade unions are not open to the Japanese, and as far as possible they are kept out of the skilled trades.¹ This attitude of opposition to the Japanese has been manifested in the attempt to keep their children out of the public schools in San Francisco, in the passage of the alien land bill, and in the introduction of other measures designed to limit the opportunities of Japanese laborers in California.² The public press has thrown its influence upon the side of the anti-Japanese agitation and by its inflammatory articles has done much to keep the problem before the attention of the public.

This concentration of attention upon the Japanese question makes the people more open to suggestion, and so the wildest stories about Japan's designs are circulated widely and are listened to in all seriousness, no matter how widely they may be removed from actual facts. Even though the danger of an influx of a horde of Japanese laborers has not existed for the past ten years, yet the old fear seems still to remain. The coming of the "picture brides" is deplored because it means the birth of Japanese children who will grow

¹ Report of Immigration Commission, vol. 23, p. 163.

² In 1913, thirty-four bills of this kind were presented to the California legislature. They provided that the license fee of Japanese fishermen should be increased, that Japanese school children should be segregated, that liquor licenses should not be issued to Japanese, that Japanese should be forbidden to use power engines, that Japanese should not be allowed to employ white women, etc.—*Asia at the Door*, pp. 161-62.

up as American citizens. If it had not been for the fear of injuring the interests of the Panama-Pacific Exposition, further bills against the Japanese would probably have been introduced into the California legislature during its session in 1915. The opposition to the Japanese in California may almost be said to have assumed a pathological form, and seems to have developed a phobia that is contagious and which does not require much basis in fact to support it.

This campaign of opposition to the Japanese has exerted a wider influence upon the public opinion of the whole country than is generally realized. Mr. Holman, in speaking of California's dislike of the Japanese, said:

Deeply as this is to be deplored, it is less regrettable than the fact that this seemingly localized manifestation is but a surface symptom of a deeper and more widespread affection which concerns not merely the Pacific coast region, where racial antagonisms are freely avowed, but practically our entire body politic, including even eastern centers of light and learning, where the solidarity of the human race is preached and the spirit of universal brotherhood is most professed. For the candid observer must, to himself at least, admit that an obsession of prejudice against men of the black, brown, or yellow races marks with an unfavorable distinction the American people above those of any other nation, despite all our boastful pretension of belief in mankind's distinctless equality of birth and nongainsayable right to an impartiality of social and political opportunity.

It is doubtless part of our heritage of shame from centuries of wrongdoing toward the African race, and its

periodical manifestations will involve penitential reparation for uncounted time to come.

But it is necessary to recognize unblinkingly that this ungracious and mischief-making spirit exists, and in greater or less degree permeates our entire people, before we shall be able either to foresee its portentous possibilities for evil or to grapple intelligently with the Herculean task of formulating remedies even appreciably adapted to the outworking of its cure.¹

It seems very evident that the past ten years of agitation against the Japanese on the Pacific coast, together with the aggressive policy of Japan both in demanding its rights in this country and advancing its interests in the Far East, have produced an undercurrent of opposition that comes to the surface upon slight provocation. In a recent conversation with a well-informed Japanese official in America, I asked him why his government did not encourage the Japanese living in California to move east of the Rocky Mountains, where they would be made more welcome. He replied that this was a common mistake of Americans, who took it for granted that the anti-Japanese spirit was limited only to the Far West, and that, as a matter of fact, any settlement of the Japanese in mass in any state of the Union would arouse opposition.

In support of this statement he cited several instances where attempts had been made by small groups of Japanese farmers to establish themselves in states where there had been no indication of any feeling

¹ Holman, C. V., "Our Insult to Japan," the *Arena*, 37: 11.

against the Japanese. One of these attempts was made in 1914 in Michigan, but as soon as it became known that the Japanese were trying to buy land, protests were made and a bill was introduced into the state legislature similar to the alien land law of California. Similar efforts were made by Japanese to settle in rural communities in Florida and Louisiana, and in both these states anti-Japanese feeling at once manifested itself. In order to prevent the spread of this agitation against the Japanese, their government has discouraged as far as possible all migration of Japanese laborers into our eastern and southern states. The Japanese authorities feel that it is wiser to localize the opposition in the West and not allow it to extend over the whole country. In the opinion of this Japanese official, almost the only places in the East that are open to the Japanese are the large cities, where a few can engage in small business enterprises or do domestic work. The four hundred Japanese living in Chicago are scattered throughout the city, and as they have established no business street, as have the Chinese, their presence is but little noticed. They do, however, experience difficulty sometimes in renting rooms and apartments in the more desirable sections of the city. Only last year a Japanese student and his wife, because of the protests of neighbors, had to give up their lease of an apartment in Hyde Park within the very shadow of the University of Chicago.¹

¹ Unmarried students, however, find no difficulty in securing rooms. The Housing Bureau of the University of Chicago states

While Japanese students, who form a considerable portion of the Japanese population in the eastern states, are given a warm welcome to our educational privileges, they are made to feel that they cannot share fully in our social affairs. In response to inquiries made in a number of our colleges and universities, it was learned that there was a strong sentiment against a college girl appearing alone in public under the escort of a Japanese man. There is perfect freedom in class parties and college functions, but the line is drawn upon any association that might be interpreted as a personal attention to an American girl. Even in communities where there seems to be no race prejudice against the Japanese, intermarriage with them is regarded as highly unfortunate.

It is, however, the attitude of suspicion rather than dislike that seems to characterize the American public in general today. Japanese aggressiveness and military preparedness, the frank statements in a portion of the Japanese press that they are not only willing to fight us but regard us as an easy opponent to crush, and the frequent publication in our newspapers of alleged designs of the Japanese upon our possessions in the Pacific as well as upon our Pacific coast, have aroused a rather widespread feeling of suspicion. We know that they are an ambitious nation, and we are not sure how far their ambitions will lead them in their relations

that American families usually prefer Japanese students because they are quieter and demand fewer privileges than do other students.

with us. An American editorial writer, in commenting on American nervousness concerning the Japanese, said:

If the Japanese were not so disciplined in politeness they would be spilling their tea all over Japan in merriment over our fidgets. Our apprehensions are not only ludicrous but natural. They are unescapable. They are the tributes paid by an uncertain, amiable, unorganized nation which has no defined intent, to a resolute, efficient, organized nation which has its plans clearly outlined and well in hand. . . .

Our imagination puts nothing beyond the ability of our bland friends. The Japanese fishermen and the Japanese schoolboys may be brigadier generals; a tea store may be the headquarters of the general staff; Japanese submarines may be ready for assembling down in the sand dunes by Miller, Ind.; Hawaii may contain four army corps, and Mexico a couple.¹

Efforts of the Japanese to float one of their cruisers that ran aground in Turtle Bay were construed as an attempt to fortify a naval base on the Pacific coast. Upon the occasion of the visit of the American fleet to Japan a few years ago, it was predicted that our war vessels would be blown up in Yokohama harbor.

In a recent effort to find out the real attitude of America toward Japan, Dr. Shailer Mathews and Dr. S. L. Gulick sent out to representative Americans a questionnaire in which was included the following question: "What is the ground of the suspicion of Japan more or less widespread in the United States?" Replies

¹ *The Chicago Tribune*, April 15, 1915.

were received from more than sixty men, all of whom occupied positions of responsibility where they had opportunity to be familiar with public opinion throughout the country. The following quotations from their letters will indicate the different views that were expressed:

There is suspicion more or less widespread in the United States that the Japanese government and the Japanese people would like to acquire territory somewhere, and that she may be looking to this western hemisphere for such an outlet. There is also a belief that the Japanese government some years ago entered upon a campaign of educating the Japanese people in the belief that a war with the United States was imminent.

The ground for the suspicion of Japan more or less widespread in the United States is the fear of the expansion of the Japanese population on the American continent, which expansion of population would inevitably result in Japanese territorial expansion.

I would not say that there was widespread suspicion of Japan in the United States. I would rather say that there was a large amount of indifference and ignorance about Japan. Whatever suspicion there is probably arises from fear of mingling with eastern races and from the fear by labor unions of competition.

There is no suspicion of Japan in the United States and there is no ground of suspicion except that which may be created within a small circle by the infamous yellow journals, or the labor unions of the country who fear the introduction of coolie labor. If such is to be considered a ground of suspicion it is wholly an economic ground and is not a racial prejudice or suspicion.

Whatever suspicion exists is based upon the following: low moral standards; their aggressive attitude as immigrants in this country; their attempts to get control of strategic positions in this continent; the militarism which dominates the national life; the detailed preparedness for the recent wars they have waged; their industrious efforts to secure information as to the defenses and resources of our country. Added to these is the racial suspicion and antipathy which is general in those sections which contain the greatest number of Orientals.

If there is any widespread suspicion of Japan in the United States, I am not aware of it. If there is any such feeling, I believe it proceeds entirely from a vague, ill-defined fear of the so-called yellow peril which has been permitted to creep into certain minds and has never been tested by any real investigation of facts.

The suspicion of Japan is due, I think, largely to the feeling that the Japanese are commercially untrustworthy and that it is difficult to know when one can take their word about anything. With our habits of thought, this defect in the national character counts for more than it should and makes us suspicious of them even in those fields where we ought to trust them.

Japan maintains a persistently menacing attitude toward us. She strains at a gnat in San Francisco and swallows a camel in Vancouver. The actions of Australia, New Zealand, Canada in matters of Japanese immigration pass unnoticed, but the local action of a single state in America, in matters over which the national government has no control, as fully understood by the Japanese government, action far less drastic, continues always open, and periodically the Japanese government delivers to our government what is equivalent to an ultimatum.

The ground for suspicion of Japan, which is undoubtedly widespread in the United States, is that for the purposes of her expansion she might desire to disturb the present status of the United States in the Pacific.

As far as conclusions can be drawn from the replies received, it is evident that there is no unanimity of opinion on the subject. The minority who deny that there exists any suspicion of Japan in America seem to mean that there is no justifiable suspicion. Some admit that there is suspicion, but claim that it is not widespread enough to be called the attitude of our nation. Others believe that this feeling of distrust characterizes our whole country.

Our chief grounds of fear of Japan may be summarized as follows: (1) Japan's national interests run counter to ours, therefore we are in danger of acts of aggression on the part of the Japanese. (2) A deluge of cheap labor will lower western standards. (3) The entrance of Orientals will cause us to face a new race problem.

However unjustifiable these fears may seem to be, they cannot be brushed aside as unworthy of our attention. The sentiments that they create are real, even though the reasons upon which they are based may be false. All refusals to recognize the significance of these sentiments can only result in deception and in further loss of confidence.

What, then, shall be our conclusions about the Japanese "menace"? Is it an illusion fostered by military propagandists, or is it a real peril which we must sooner or later face? To such a question no final answer can

now be given. The forces at work are so complex, the situation presents itself in such varied aspects to different observers, that any agreement about the future outlook is impossible. It may be said, however, that the time is past for us to be lulled into a feeling of security by frequent exchanges of honeyed euphemisms. The custom of patting each other on the back has been carried to the point of absurdity by well-meaning people of both nations. The historic friendship of the two countries is held up as something so remarkable that it is sacrilege to suggest that it might be broken. Such talk may help in creating a kind of public opinion, but in so far as it ignores very evident causes of friction, it does more harm than good. If there really is a Japanese menace it will be made none the less so by refusing to recognize its existence. The issue does not depend entirely on our feelings of good will. We must remember that we have arbitrarily arranged the present status of affairs, so far as immigration from the East is concerned, to suit our interests and not those of the Japanese. The issue is therefore up to them. What their next move will be, no one can tell. It is only our thoughtlessness or abounding egotism that leads us to assume that the Japanese will never take up arms against us because we are kindly disposed toward them. Japan is an ambitious nation and very jealous of her national honor as well as keen to promote her welfare. Her immediate interests may prompt her now to cultivate America's friendship. Let us not be too sure that this will always be the case.

CHAPTER VI

THE ISOLATION OF JAPANESE IN AMERICA

THE entrance of Japanese into American life involves radical changes in their old habits and mental attitudes. Their success in the new environment depends upon their ability to readjust themselves to conditions far different from those to which they have been accustomed. The readjustments they are compelled to make are far greater than those which are expected of Americans who go to the Orient.

No matter how much the foreign missionaries and foreign business men in Japan may try to adapt themselves to their surroundings, they will still live in foreign houses, eat foreign food, and wear foreign clothes. They are under no economic necessity of adopting Japanese customs, nor are they supposed to carry out wholesale the process of denationalization. Even the missionaries who have resided in the country for more than a quarter of a century do not attempt by their manner of life to merge themselves unnoticed into the Japanese nation. The language may be so well learned and native customs so well copied that when occasion requires they can mingle with the Japanese without causing any friction, but in their private life at least it is assumed that American ideals shall be maintained. The children of missionaries are not

sent to Japanese schools, for there is not the slightest intention of bringing them up as Japanese citizens. With but few exceptions, the foreigners residing in Japan in any capacity whatever have followed the policy of remaining as a race apart.

The Japanese immigrants, on the other hand, are under the necessity of conforming to American standards because they are competitors in our economic life. To the extent that they live in their own groups and retain their native customs, they are not only criticized, but their economic opportunities are lessened. In order to succeed they must make themselves as much like Americans as possible.

While this is the same problem that all our immigrants must face, it possesses peculiar significance in the case of the Japanese because of the widely prevailing belief in the incompatibility of the two civilizations. So far apart has the East seemed from the West that many have taken it for granted that any large mingling of the two races is impracticable. As Kipling says:

Oh, East is East, and West is West,
And never the twain shall meet,
Till Earth and Sky stand presently,
At God's great Judgment Seat.

For the popular impression that the Japanese dwell in a world of thought and action diametrically opposite to our own, such writers as Lafcadio Hearn and Percival Lowell are largely responsible. In their description and interpretation of the Japanese occur these striking passages:

The ideas of this people are not our ideas; their sentiments are not our sentiments; their ethical life represents for us regions of thought and emotion yet unexplored, or perhaps long forgotten. Any one of their ordinary phrases translated into western speech makes hopeless nonsense; and the literal rendering into Japanese of the simplest English sentence would scarcely be comprehended by any Japanese who had never studied a European tongue. Could you learn all the words in a Japanese dictionary, your acquisition would not help you in the least to make yourself understood in speaking unless you had learned also to think like a Japanese—that is to say, to think backwards, to think upside down and inside out, to think in directions totally foreign to Aryan habit.¹

Intellectually, at least, their attitude sets gravity at defiance. For to the mind's eye their world is one huge, comical antithesis of our own. What we regard intuitively in one way from our standpoint, they as intuitively observe in a diametrically opposite manner from theirs. To speak backwards, write backwards, read backwards, is but the *A B C* of their contrariety. The inversion extends deeper than mere modes of expression, down into the very matter of thought. Ideas of ours which we deemed innate find in them no home, while methods which strike us as preposterously unnatural appear to be their birth-right. From the standing of a wet umbrella on its handle instead of its head to dry, to the striking of a match away in place of toward one, there seems to be no action of our daily lives, however trivial, but finds with them its appropriate reaction—equal but opposite. Indeed, to one anxious of conforming to the manners and customs of the country, the only road to right lies in following

¹ Hearn, Lafcadio, *Japan, an Attempt at Interpretation*, p. 12.

unswervingly that course which his inherited instincts assure him to be wrong.¹

Overdrawn though these statements may be, they are nevertheless based on striking differences between the East and the West that cannot be denied. That the Japanese immigrants have much farther to go than the European immigrants in adapting themselves to American ways, is undoubtedly true. Their language, habits of thought, methods of work, social customs, and moral ideals are handicaps to them in their struggle for existence under American conditions. Many Westerners have been so impressed with the contrast between the two civilizations that they believe they are based on fundamental racial differences which cannot be eradicated. In their opinion, something deeper than social heritage is involved, and therefore assimilation with the West is impossible. The following statements taken from American periodicals present clearly this point of view :

For the Japanese in the United States will always be Japanese. They will not become Americans. They will neither wish to merge with our people nor shall we wish to have them. Our capacious hospitalities are equal to the accommodation of a good many of them. They are clean, well mannered, and industrious ; better folk by far in many particulars than a good many other newcomers. But they are not our kind, and will not merge. They belong to Asia. Their hearts are there ; their interests are there. In this country we believe that they will always deserve good treatment, and that they will get it.

¹ Lowell, Percival, *The Soul of the Far East*, p. 2.

But if there ever is danger that any part of the country will be overrun with them as Hawaii has been, there can be no doubt that proper and peaceable means will be taken to avert that danger.¹

The Japanese adopts our dress and manners, but his Americanization never extends beyond external appearances. The yellow and white races are as immiscible as oil and water. No forces of education or civilization can make aught but an Asiatic out of a Chinese or Japanese. There can be no assimilation, nor do they desire it.²

Within recent years there has been a tendency to challenge these radical statements. Modern ethnology is laying less emphasis upon biological aspects of racial differences. "The real variable," says Professor Thomas, "is the individual, not the race."³ Because of the wide variations that exist within a single racial group, it is impossible to get any general consensus of opinion as to what actually constitutes racial differences. The fact that is coming to be more recognized is the similarity in the mental activities of mankind, which has resulted in a remarkable agreement in many of the fundamental ideas held all over the world. The customs of a people, their ways of reacting to given conditions, their peculiarities of manner which help to differentiate them from other racial groups, are

¹ Editorial in *Harper's Weekly*, Dec. 1, 1905, p. 1699.

² McLaughlin, A., "Chinese and Japanese Immigration," the *Pop. Sci. Mo.*, 66: 121.

³ Thomas, W. I., *Sex and Society*, p. 288. Cp. Spiller, G., "Science and Race Prejudice," *Sociological Review*, 5: 346-47.

the results of social and not biological heredity. Race is no longer thought to determine types of civilization or the nature of moral ideas. These factors have grown out of the social environment and consequently will be modified as the environment changes.¹ The application of this point of view to the assimilability of the Japanese is well brought out by Dr. Sidney L. Gulick in his recent discussion of this subject:

That there are no psychological differences between East and West is by no means our contention. There certainly are. . . . Our general contention is that such psychic differences as distinguish the East from the West are products of social life, belong to the social order, and are, therefore, subject to rapid change. The psychic nature, however, is identical East and West because it is human. That which unites them is universal and cosmic, while that which separates them is superficial and insular. On first acquaintance they may seem inscrutable and non-assimilable; in fact, however, there is no insuperable obstacle to complete mutual understanding and assimilation. . . . Old Japan, Japan before the advent of Perry, was apparently so fixed, and her mode of thought and life and reasoning so different from those of the West, that the contention of unassimilable race differences might have seemed logically and experimentally defensible. But that contention can no longer stand. New Japan has destroyed it, for she is rapidly assimilating our entire occidental civilization and thereby bringing her inner life into increasingly close harmony with ours.²

¹ Boas, Franz, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, p. 155 Thomas, W. I., "The Psychology of Race Prejudice," *Amer. Journ. Soc.*, 9: 593 ff.

² *The American Japanese Problem*, pp. 145-46.

But this statement of the assimilability of the Japanese must not cause us to minimize unduly the wide differences between the civilizations of the East and the West. These differences do exist as a serious handicap to the Japanese immigrants, and are an important factor in isolating them from many of the best things in American life. It is too early in the history of the contact of the two races to dogmatize about the rapidity and the success with which the isolation will be overcome. All we can do is to consider certain factors which will throw light on the present position of the Japanese in American environment.

Obviously, the ability of the Japanese to adjust themselves to their new environment depends to a great extent upon their mental preparation. How familiar are they with western civilization, and what is their attitude toward it? The Chinese, as is well known, still maintain so thoroughly their old attitude of superiority that they borrow with great reluctance from the West. The Japanese, however, have not allowed their dislike for foreigners to blind them to the advantages they may gain by learning the foreigners' secrets of success.

One of the striking facts about the Japanese is their frank appreciation of western civilization. From the time when the late Emperor at the beginning of his reign in 1868 issued his famous edict in which he said that "knowledge shall be sought for throughout the whole world," the Japanese leaders began to revolutionize their national institutions. The patterns for

their wide-sweeping changes were found in the West and were adopted with a rapidity that surprised the whole world. The form of government, the educational system, the means of communication, the army and the navy, were modeled along western lines.

This example set by the government has been followed by the people as far as economic considerations make it possible. Foreign-style business buildings are found in every large city, and it is becoming the fashion for the wealthy to build a foreign annex alongside their native houses. Foreign uniforms have been adopted by all boys' schools above the primary grades, and foreign clothing is frequently worn by men in the better classes of society. Bakeries, meat shops, and restaurants that serve foreign food are quite common in large cities and are well patronized by the people who can afford a more expensive standard of living. English forms a very prominent part of the curriculum of schools above the elementary grades. Students in even the secondary schools are required to read in the original a considerable number of the English classics. Says Dr. Nitobe:

It is through the channels of the English language that Anglo-Saxon ideas exert a tremendous influence intellectually, morally, politically, and socially. In this way are the great leaders of English thought made familiar to us, and being constantly quoted they are perused both in the original and in translations. Several works of Shakespeare can now be read in Japanese; Bacon, Emer-

son, George Eliot, Poe, Stevenson, Longfellow, Wordsworth, Tennyson, are names on the lips of everyone.¹

It is thus clear that as far as the more intelligent and well-to-do portion of the Japanese nation are concerned, they are well prepared to enter sympathetically into American life. They not only possess some familiarity with western institutions and customs, but have a desire to adopt western standards of living as soon as their economic condition permits it. If the Japanese immigrants had been largely drawn from these more intelligent classes, the fact of the wide differences between the two civilizations could not be regarded as a very serious barrier to their entrance into American environment.

Unfortunately, however, the majority of the immigrants have come from the lower classes, which have been only slightly affected by the transformation of modern Japan. One of the striking contrasts in Japan is the progressive modern government, on the one hand, and the medieval aspects of the smaller towns and rural communities, on the other. With the exception of the school system and the government organization, rural Japan has not yet been drawn into the current

¹ Nitobe, I., *The Japanese Nation*, p. 186. Professor Togawa, in an article entitled "Western Works of Literature, Religion, and Philosophy Translated and Introduced in Japan," enumerates a large list of western books which are familiar to the Japanese. He says: "The assiduity with which these translations were made and the eagerness with which they have been and are being welcomed attest the attitude of the minds of the people who wish to study the natural characteristics of the nations of the world in order to enrich their own."—*Japan's Message to America*, p. 221.

of modern life. The agricultural class, from which come three-fifths of all the immigrants, is the most conservative and backward portion of the nation.¹

¹Report of Immigration Com., 23:8-9: "Perhaps three-fifths or even more of the Japanese immigrants to the United States have been of the agricultural classes. The various city classes have been small in comparison. This is shown by the occupations of Japanese aliens arrived at the ports of the United States (including Hawaii) and Canada (from 1901 to 1909) as reported by the Commissioner-General of Immigration. . . . 10.3 per cent of the immigrants for the nine years had been farmers in Japan, while 43.5 per cent had been farm laborers, most of whom were youths or young men working on their fathers' farms without wages, for farm laborers working regularly for wages have been relatively few. Moreover, 21.8 per cent, including women and children, had not been gainfully occupied. A large percentage of these were the wives and small children of farmers and farm laborers and should be added to the percentage given above in order to obtain an estimate of the relative number of the farming class emigrating from Japan. As opposed to the 53.8 per cent who had been gainfully employed in agricultural pursuits, 2.1 per cent were professional men (physicians, teachers, preachers, actors, etc.); 5.8 per cent were merchants, grocers, and bankers; 3.8 per cent skilled laborers in a great variety of trades; 6.7 per cent common laborers; 1.3 per cent had been occupied in the various branches of domestic and personal service, and 4.7 per cent in other occupations of which fishing was no doubt one of the most important. Thus, the majority of the Japanese immigrants have been drawn from the rural sections of the country."

Y. Ichihashi in his pamphlet, *Japanese Immigration*, pp. 8-10, has attempted to present the social and economic status of the Japanese in a more favorable light. According to his statement only 35.5 per cent of the Japanese immigrants have come from the farming and laboring classes. He evidently secured these figures by leaving out of account the large numbers of Japanese who came to the mainland from Hawaii during the early nineties, many of whom went to these islands as contract laborers to work on the sugar plantations and so were drawn largely from the lower classes in Japan. In the year 1906, ninety per cent of those who entered Hawaii were classed by the Japanese government as farmers and laborers. The importance of the early immigration

Yoshida, in an article on the "Sources and Causes of Japanese Emigration," described this class of rural emigrants as follows:

They belong to the lower classes of the Japanese community, if not to the lowest of all. They are the real cornerstone of the nation but they are poor. In this class of emigrants the most conservative, uneducated, and innocent persons can be found. The greater number of them being quite ignorant of foreign conditions, they are usually cared for and transported by the so-called "emigration companies." Farm laborers whose daily wages are an average of only thirty-two *sen* (sixteen cents) have hardly an opportunity to accumulate money enough to escape from their own group. The sole motive of this emigration is to make money, and nothing more.¹

Because of the isolation and low economic condition of the farming class in Japan, modern ideas and methods of work have not gained as yet wide acceptance among them. In general, they cultivate their land without the help of modern machinery. The ground is prepared in the most primitive way. Rice, which is the principal crop, is transplanted and tended by hand, harvested with a sickle, and threshed with a flail. The conditions of life, moreover, are hard. In proportion to its cultivatable area, Japan is the most densely populated country in the world. Consequently, the farms

of Japanese from Hawaii can be seen by the fact that more than 37,000 came from there to the mainland from 1902-1908, while the direct immigration from Japan to our Pacific coast amounted to about 40,000 during this period.

¹ *Annals Amer. Acad.*, 34: 385.

are in many cases too small to give adequate support to the families dependent upon them.¹ A life of unceasing toil and a low scale of living is the usual lot of the small farmers in Japan. Holidays with them are rare, for in winter and in inclement weather they must support themselves by some subsidiary occupation. Their schooling is usually limited to the minimum prescribed by law, and their outlook on life extends rarely beyond their own community. The small farmers and farm laborers who have sought to improve their economic condition by emigration have therefore little preparation for their new life in America except their habits of industry and their willingness to put up with hard conditions.

It is inevitable that immigrants of this type should show a tendency to segregate themselves in communities of their own people where they can keep up their own language and customs. Difficulties of language would alone be sufficient to cause them to desire to dwell together. While it is usually said that the Japanese are more zealous and successful in learning English than some of our other immigrant groups, the fact still remains that forty per cent of the Japanese

¹ The cultivated land in Japan comprises only about seventeen per cent of the total area, a tract of land about one-third of the size of the state of Illinois. Counting the whole area of Japan, the average density of population is about 280 to the square mile.

Seventy per cent of the total population belong to the farming class, who must support their families on farms the average size of which is less than three acres. It is estimated that only three farmers in a hundred cultivate as much as eight acres.

Cp. Porter, R. P., *The Full Recognition of Japan*, p. 260.

in America speak only their mother tongue. Moreover, among those who are classified as English-speaking Japanese, comparatively few show much facility in the use of our language. As a matter of fact, the Japanese are notoriously poor linguists. Japanese students, who have had good opportunities to learn English, often express themselves with difficulty even after years of study. That uneducated laborers who have come to America as adults should find English an almost insurmountable difficulty need not occasion surprise. Mr. K. Mikami, a New York business man, expressed himself in this way concerning his countrymen's lack of knowledge of the English language:

I have no doubt — nay, I can assert — that if our countrymen on the west coast of the United States could speak and write English in their daily life and transaction of business and in association with their American neighbors, there would have been few, if any, unpleasant controversies. I want it, however, to be understood that I do not expect Japanese laborers to speak and write English with such excellence as experts in the language, but I do expect them to use English to show their American neighbors that they are appreciative of the language which is the only instrumentality for giving expression to the customs and manners of the communities in which the Japanese laborers live.¹

There can be little doubt that this lack of facility in the use of English is one of the strong factors tending to isolate the Japanese laboring class. It is natural that

¹ *New York Japan Review*, April, 1914, p. 135.

they should prefer to live in a group where their own language is understood.

Economic necessity also practically compels the new immigrants to seek shelter in a Japanese community. Their best method of securing employment is through contractors of their own race who hire them out in gangs to those in need of laborers. Even after having lived some time in this country, they find it to their interest to congregate in "Japanese quarters." Their peculiarities in diet, ways of living, and forms of recreation tend to draw the Japanese into racial groups. There must be business houses to cater to their demand for things Japanese. Lodging houses must be established for the accommodation of the Japanese who have no homes of their own. Japanese families enjoy a more congenial companionship among people of their own nationality.

The Japanese, in fact, have tended to segregate themselves for the same reasons that have led many of our European immigrants to establish themselves in separate national groups. The only difference is that this tendency has been accentuated in the case of the Japanese by the strong race prejudice existing against them. It is the outside pressure of a hostile environment as well as the inner compulsion of common interests that forces them to live in segregated quarters in most of the cities on our western coast.

In San Francisco there are two districts which are largely given over to the residence and business of the Japanese. In Los Angeles few Japanese are found

outside of the two well-defined colonies that have been established there. Sacramento has a "Japanese quarter" consisting of five or six blocks. The Japanese in Seattle live and have their places of business in a section of the city which has been gradually given over to their use. Even in cities like Denver and Salt Lake City, where the Japanese population is not much more than five hundred, there is this same tendency to live in colonies.¹

The Japanese, however, have never shown the spirit of exclusiveness to the same extent as the Chinese, who have no desire to settle outside their "Chinatown." While for social and economic reasons the Japanese find it to their interest to live together in groups, there exists also a tendency among the more intelligent and well-to-do classes to secure houses in good residence sections of the city. Indeed, one of the charges repeatedly brought against them in the West is that they exhibit a determination to spread out over the city and country and live where they find it best suited to their purpose. "Far from being clannish," says Mr. Kawakami, "the Japanese in America endeavor to adjust themselves to their new environment, mingling with their American cousins as freely as circumstances allow."²

This statement is undoubtedly true of the best type of Japanese immigrants. The race prejudice in the

¹ *Report of Immigration Com.*, 24: 251, 277.

² Kawakami, K. K., "Naturalization of Japanese," *North American Review*, 185: 401.

West, which practically forces the mass of the Japanese to segregate themselves, arouses also an intense desire among the better classes to escape from the odium that rests upon them as residents of the "Jap Quarter." To the extent that they have taken over American standards of living and regard them as more desirable than their old mode of life, they feel uncomfortable in their own group and resent the necessity of sharing a criticism that they believe they no longer deserve. The Chinese immigrants have seemingly never admitted the greater desirability of American civilization. Prepossessed with their idea that their customs are best, it has been easy for them to maintain group solidarity. Outside criticisms serve merely to strengthen the bonds which bind them together, because they do not accept the criticisms as just or reasonable. While this attitude of mind prevents their assimilation, it is largely responsible for the decline of the feeling of hostility against them. By remaining in their own group and accepting the position in life accorded them, they have given the least possible disturbance to the communities in which they live.¹

It must not be thought, however, that the more aggressive type of Japanese, who have refused to be confined in the narrow limits assigned them, are always able to escape from their former isolation by a mere change of residence. In extreme cases where prejudice against them is strongest, this isolation is effected by

¹ Simons, S. E., "Social Assimilation," *Amer. Journ. Soc.*, 7: 539-42.

the white people moving out of the community in which the Japanese have entered. More generally the same result is secured by refusing to associate with them upon terms of social equality, or by simply ignoring their presence outside of business relations.

Even in such a cosmopolitan city as Chicago, where, because of the comparatively small number of Japanese, prejudice against them is at a minimum, the Japanese residents, with the possible exception of the students, are made to feel that they are not an integral part of the social life of the city. They are not welcomed in social functions of Americans who are their equals in income and business position. As a rule, the Japanese who are engaged in business do not have a sufficient command of English to make them acceptable in American social circles. Their vocabulary is adequate for their business needs, but when it comes to social intercourse they are handicapped by lack of facility of expression. It is noticeable that when the Japanese and Americans do meet in a social way there is a tendency for them to separate into racial groups.

At the large Japanese-American banquet held in Chicago in the autumn of 1914, a special effort was made by the Japanese in charge of the occasion to have the Japanese and Americans occupy alternate seats at the different tables. When all were seated, however, it was found that two tables were occupied exclusively by Japanese, while an undue proportion of Americans crowded other parts of the room. Of course this may be partly accounted for by the fact that the two groups

were not well acquainted with each other, but a more fundamental reason was a tacit recognition of differences in language and interests which made each feel more at ease with people of his own nationality.

It might be mentioned that the same thing occurs in Japan in social meetings attended by both missionaries and Japanese Christian workers. In this case it is to the interest of both parties to cultivate cordial relations and a special effort is made to mingle freely with each other. On these occasions there is usually seen this same tendency to break up into small groups composed entirely of one nationality. Even though all may possess a working knowledge of each other's language, there is a certain strain and tension in using a foreign tongue which makes one feel more comfortable among his own people. Besides, sufficient familiarity with the foreign tongue to make possible the understanding of jokes and allusions and to give skill in repartee is not often attained by either Japanese or Americans. At any rate even under the most favorable circumstances, there exists a sufficient barrier to prevent complete freedom in social intercourse, and as a result more or less isolation is inevitable.

In spite of all these difficulties in the way of social intercourse with Americans, the more intelligent Japanese immigrants cannot be accused of exclusiveness or a desire to perpetuate their own social customs. They are willing to come more than halfway in an effort to meet the Americans and to share in their social life. The great difficulty is that this process of assim-

lation must be carried on in an unwelcome environment. Instead of being encouraged to live among the American people, they are either forced to segregate themselves in their own communities or at least are driven in upon each other to satisfy their social cravings. This dwelling together in mass intensifies their sentiments and makes more persistent their race characteristics. An individual alone is not the same as when he is in a crowd of like-minded persons. For the same reason a Japanese living alone in an American community will think and act quite differently from his countrymen massed in one section of a city or living in a country district where Japanese predominate. The most serious barrier to their assimilation is not the wide differences in civilization between the two races, but is rather the race prejudice which prevents them from entering fully into American life.

CHAPTER VII

THE REACTION OF THE JAPANESE TO AMERICAN ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

THE entrance of the Japanese immigrants into new callings, the necessity of adapting themselves to different methods of work, their struggle for existence under strange conditions of life involve mental changes of great significance. The nature of their occupations limits their activities to definite lines and determines the objects of their attention as well as the class of people with whom they associate. For these reasons a study of the reaction of the Japanese to American economic conditions is important in any attempt to estimate the fitness of these people for American life.

The characteristic occupation of the early Japanese immigrants was that of domestic service. They were attracted to this kind of work not because they were particularly well qualified for it, but because they found it an employment in which there was a demand for their services. Many of the Japanese who came to America at that time were young men so desirous of securing a western education that they were willing to do any kind of work to support themselves while pursuing their studies. Their purpose was to carry back to Japan not a large amount of money, but an educa-

tion that would fit them for good positions in their native land. The work of domestic service was especially popular among the poor student class because they were able to improve their English by living and working in American homes. Dr. Nitobe, in his description of the Japanese in California in 1890, wrote as follows:

The Japanese in California range generally from eighteen to thirty years in age, and represent by no means the laboring classes. Many of them are the sons of old samurai full of ambition and energy, yet without means to obtain a liberal education. As to their means of subsistence, there are very few who are professional men or who are mere drudges. There are two Japanese physicians practicing in San Francisco. Law students are debarred by statute from pleading in the state courts. Very few Japanese names are to be found in the college catalogues of the state. There is, however, an instructor of Chinese and Japanese languages in the Maclay Institute of Theology at San Fernando. The majority—we might say nearly all—of the Japanese in California make their living as waiters, domestics, and shop boys, while the stronger serve as sailors or coasters. It is usual with many of them to make an arrangement with their employers by which they are allowed an hour or two each day in order to attend schools; this, of course, at the sacrifice of their wages. One cannot too much admire the pluck of some of the boys who, by laboring under unaccustomed disadvantages, are still ambitious to carry home the learning of the West.¹

¹ Nitobe, I., *The Intercourse Between the United States and Japan*, p. 184.

Another writer, in an article published in 1897, emphasized this same characteristic of the Japanese immigrants:

Most of the Japanese are employed as household servants and as waiters in hotels and restaurants. . . . They are generally inspired with a desire to possess an American education, and they have visions of some day attaining this and returning to Japan equipped to engage in some of the higher, more profitable occupations of life.¹

The reaction of an ambitious Japanese student to the conditions imposed by the work of a domestic servant can be very clearly seen in an interesting article entitled "The Confession of a Japanese Servant," which appeared in the *Independent* of September 21, 1905. The author, a Japanese boy of the middle class, came to America determined to acquire a western education. Lack of funds compelled him to seek employment soon after his arrival. He thus states his first experience in securing work:

Great disappointment and regret I have experienced when I was told that I, the boy of seventeen years old, smaller in stature indeed than ordinary fourteen years old American boy, imperfect in English knowledge, I can be of any use here, but become a domestic servant, as the field for Japanese very narrow and limited. Thus reluctantly I have submitted to be a recruit of the army of domestic servants of which I ever dreamed up to this time. The place where I got to work in the first time was a boarding house. My duties were to peel potatoes,

¹ Bennett, J. E., "The Japanese on the Pacific Coast," the *Chautauquan*, 26: 186.

wash the dishes, a few laundry work, and also I was expected to do whatever mistress, waitress, and cook has told me.

When I first entered the kitchen wearing a white apron, what an uncomfortable and mortifying feeling I experienced. I thought I shall never be able to proceed the work. I felt as if I am pressed down on my shoulder with loaded tons of weight. My heart palpitates. I did not know what I am and what to say. I stood by door of kitchen motionless like a stone, with a dumbfound silence. The cook gave me a scornful look and said nothing. . . . What would the boys in Japan say if they found me out. I am thus employed in the kitchen receiving the orders from the maidservant whom I have once looked down and thought never to be equal while I was dining at my uncle's house. I feel the homesick. I was so lonesome and so sorry that I came to America. Ignoring the kind advice of my friends, rejecting the offer of help from my uncle at home, quickened by my youthful sentiment to be the independent, and believing the work alone to be the noble, I came to this country to educate myself worthy to my father's name. How beautiful idea it was while it existed in imagination, but how hard it is when it came to practice. There was no honor, no responsibility, no sense of duty, but the pliancy of servitude was the cardinal requirement. There is no personal liberty while your manhood is completely ignored.

The unaccustomed work and the humiliation involved in the position of a servant were more than he could endure, and so he asked to be discharged. The reasons he gave for wishing to leave illustrate the lack of frankness and indirectness of the Japanese, which have caused so many misunderstandings with their American employers:

She wanted me to state the reason. My real objection was that the work was indeed too hard and unpleasant for me to bear, and also there were no time even to read a book. But I thought it is rather impolite to say so, and partly my strange pride hated to confess my weakness, fearing the reflection as a lazy boy. Really I could not think how smoothly I should tell my reasons. So I kept silent rather with a stupefied look. She suggested me if the work were not too hard. It was just the point, but how foolish I was; I did positively denied. "Then why can you not stay here?" she went on. I said childishly, "I have nothing to complain; simply I wants to go back to New York. My passion wants to."

According to his Japanese training it was his duty to bear silently his unpleasant lot. No matter how much his indignation was aroused over the way he was treated, etiquette demanded that his feelings should be concealed. Even when the proper time came for him to explain his desire to leave, he felt it was necessary to say the pleasant thing rather than to tell the truth. When finally he did leave secretly during his mistress' absence, his incomprehensible action was charged up to Japanese unreliability and was regarded as an additional proof of the tendency of the race to break agreements without any adequate reason.

In all of his varied experiences as a servant in America, he was not able to overcome his feeling of resentment against those who treated him as an inferior. He recognized the fact that he was a servant, but he wanted nevertheless to be treated as a man. To obey orders slavishly was impossible for him. He desired

a larger place in the management of the household than is usually granted to a servant, and at times even attempted to give advice to his employers.

Once I worked for a widow lady whose incomes are derived from the real estate, stock, and bonds. She is economizing so strictly that often handicapped me. One day taking the chances of her good humor, I told her that her well-meant efforts are the misapplication of her energy, trying to save her pin money through the economy of gas bill and grocery bill in the old-fashioned way, while neglecting to avail herself to the "modern high finance scheme" whereby she may improve her resources. The reward of this speech was an honorable discharge. To be a successful servant is to make yourself a fool.

One summer he secured employment as a cabin boy on a steam yacht where he was thrown into contact with people of wealth. Here he had his first experience with American tips, a custom which he despised because they were usually given in an offensive manner that injured his feelings. He thus describes how he felt about it:

I hate the rich people who display their wealth and give me a tip in a boastful manner. I felt I am insulted and I have protested. Sometime the tip was handed down indirectly from the hands of the captain. Each time when I have obliged to take the tip, I am distinctly felt "the gift without giver is bare." I, however, thankfully accepted the offer from a lady who give me the money in such a kind and sympathetic manner. A gentleman gave me one dollar, saying "I wish this were ten times as much; still I want you keep it for me to help your study."

Indeed this one dollar, how precious I felt. Once a fastidious lady was on the board. She used to kick one thing to another. Of course I did not pay any attention. Whenever she scold me, I said at heart, "It's your pleasure to blame me, lady. I, on my part, simply to hear you. I am not almighty; I cannot be a perfect. If I made mistake, I shall correct. You might bully me as you please and treat me like a dog, I shall not object. I have a soul within me. My vital energy in self-denying struggle could not be impaired by your despise. On the contrary, it will be stimulated." That the way I used swallowed down all the reprimand she gave me. I, however, getting tired to hear her sharp tongue and hoping to be on the good term with her. One morning I have exerted an exceptionally good care to clean her cabin. Right after I got through her compartment, she called me back and told me that I did not take a good care of. I replied emphatically with a conviction, "I did my best under the circumstance." But she insisted I must do better next time. Then she took out a dollar bill and gave it to me. I refused to take it. She thrust the money into my hand. I have thrown back the paper money to her feet. "Madam, this is the bribe and graft. I am amply paid from the owner of the yacht to serve you," said I. "No, madam; no tip for me." Without waiting her answer, while she seemed taken entirely surprised, I quickly withdrew from her.

It is clear that such a high-spirited, sensitive Japanese would not fit well into American life as a servant or, as he defines it, a "coworker with the Venus in the American commissary department." His experience led him to the following conclusions about the effect of this kind of work upon many of his countrymen:

Some says Japanese are studying while they are working in the kitchen, but it is all nonsense. Many of them started so, but nearly all of them failed. . . . Many Japanese servants has told me as soon as they saved sufficient amount of money they would start the business. But many young Japanese, while their intentions are laudable, they will find the vile condition of environment in a large city like New York has a greater force than their moral courage could resist. Disheartened from the hard work or excessive disagreeableness of their environment often tempt them to seek a vain comfort in the misdirected quarter; thus dissipate their precious earned money. Even those who have saved money successfully for the capital to start the business, their future is quite doubtful. When they have saved enough money, it will be a time that their business ability melted away or by no means are sharp. Years husbanding of domestic work, handicapped and over-interfered by mistress, their mental agilities are reduced to the lamentable degree. Yet matured by these undesirable experience, most of them are quite unconscious of this outcome as little by little submissive and depending habit so securely rooted within their mind. It will be an exceedingly hard to adjust themselves immediately to the careful and shrewd watch required in the modern business enterprise, though they may be assisted by the instinct of self-interest. The sooner they quit the kitchen the better, though needless to say, there are a few exceptions.

This frank statement of the experiences of a Japanese servant in America throws much light on the difficulties they face in their efforts to adapt themselves to work of this nature. Few of those who become domestic servants have had experience in such work in Japan. They usually regard themselves as above the

servant class and accept this employment only as a stepping-stone to something better. Those who are sensitive and ambitious bitterly resent being held off at a distance and treated as an inferior, which is the usual lot of servants in American families.

In Japan, the servants occupy a lowly position, but they are made to feel that they belong to the family and share in its interests. Students in Japan, who supplement their slender income by working for their board and room in some family, may perform menial tasks about the house, but they are called *shokkaku* ("table guests") and not servants, and are treated in such a way that they do not feel any humiliation.

A striking characteristic of the industrial life of the Far East is the attitude of personal relationship between employers and workmen. When Japanese are permitted to work on this basis in American homes, they often manifest a spirit of loyalty that arouses the admiration of their employers. A housewife in California wrote:

There is certainly one splendid trait that Japanese inherit almost without exception, and to a greater degree than almost any other nation—that is loyalty. I could give a hundred instances of unselfish devotion and loyalty of Japanese servants that could be equaled only by the splendid record of the older generation of black servants in the South. One cannot treat them as one would an English, Swedish, or German servant.¹

¹ Farnham, M. H., "Mr. Ishiboshi, My Japanese Servant and Friend," the *American Magazine*, Aug., 1913, p. 75.

Unfortunately the Japanese do not usually receive the kind of treatment that would develop this spirit of loyalty, and as a consequence there result misunderstandings and friction which handicap the Japanese in their efforts to make a place for themselves in the industrial life of our nation.

Since the beginning of the present century there has been a change in the type of the Japanese immigrants which has brought about a considerable modification of their economic interests. The distinctively student element in the Japanese immigration has become overshadowed by the large number of farm laborers who naturally seek openings in agricultural pursuits. Under the direction of small contractors and bosses of their own race, the Japanese have begun to spread out into the rural districts and secure work as seasonal farm laborers. While the Japanese had found employment to a certain extent in agriculture since 1887, there was no mass movement along this line until Japanese peasants formed a large proportion of the new arrivals. According to an investigation made in 1909, sixty-five per cent of the Japanese in California were engaged in agriculture, fifteen per cent in domestic service, fifteen per cent in business enterprises generally connected with supplying the wants of the Japanese communities, and five per cent were students, officials, etc.¹

This tendency of the Japanese to take up farm work cannot be explained entirely by the fact that the majority of the immigrants have been drawn from the

¹ *The American Japanese Problem*, p. 322.

rural classes in Japan. Race prejudice, which has limited their sphere of employment along many lines, has been an important factor in the rural movement. With the exception of employment in domestic service or in small Japanese business establishments, there are very few openings in the city for the new immigrants. About the only way for them to get a start in their new life is to join a group of their countrymen under a Japanese boss and hire themselves out as railroad or farm laborers.

The hard, monotonous life of the railroad section hands is not at all attractive to the Japanese. They prefer farm labor and usually take the first opportunity to get transferred to that kind of work. While farming conditions and methods are quite different from those with which they were familiar in Japan, the nature of the work, especially in the fruit and vegetable industries, is more congenial to them than to white laborers. The Japanese are peculiarly well fitted to do hand work that must be done in the stooping posture. In regard to this Kawakami says:

The picking of grapes, strawberries, and vegetables, and the thinning of beets and celery require a stooping attitude that is not natural to the Caucasian. To the Japanese, however, stooping or kneeling is not very difficult, partly because of his short stature and his limber body, partly because he was accustomed while in his native country to farming without machinery. In grape picking, for instance, a white laborer can pick only one-third of what a Japanese harvests in a day. The white laborers, naturally averse to this kind of work, reluctantly if not

gladly, assigned it to the Japanese. If the whites were to be substituted for the Japanese, the cost of producing these fruits and vegetables would be so greatly increased that the growers would have to abandon the industry.¹

In farm work of this kind the Japanese have made a secure place for themselves not only because they are so well adapted to such work, but because it is a field in which white laborers do not care to compete.

The Japanese at present have very little to do with farms where crops are raised which require the use of machinery. Race prejudice limits the activities of the Japanese even in farm work. They have not yet been permitted to become serious competitors of white men in the kinds of farm labor that the latter desire to keep for themselves. What success they have attained as farm laborers has largely been due to the fact that they have organized themselves in groups under the control of a Japanese contractor who attends to all the business dealings between them and their employers. While this method makes Japanese labor popular among large ranch owners because of its easy availability, it deprives the Japanese of that personal association with Americans which they need in order to learn American ways of living. Their work in agriculture, which ought to be a strong factor in their assimilation, isolates them about as completely as does residence in the Japanese quarter of a large city.

It is partly because of the prejudice against the Japanese in California that they have been stimulated to

¹ *Asia at the Door*, p. 136.

buy or lease farms and thus become independent producers. The Japanese are too ambitious to submit tamely to the limitations placed upon them. With the exception of the more ignorant classes which are unable to help themselves, they possess characteristics which unfit them for the position of servile laborers in the less desirable occupations. They are confident of their own ability to adapt themselves to their new environment and are quick to combine to promote their own interests. Because they possess qualities like these, race prejudice has acted as a stimulus rather than as a deterrent to those who are best qualified to succeed.

Confronting a situation in which their economic activities were seriously restricted, they have tried to secure greater freedom for themselves by buying land of their own. Far more than the European immigrants, they have been made to feel the limitations of the wage-earning positions because their employment is almost entirely limited to the less desirable kinds of work. This fact, together with their ambition to rise, has been largely responsible for their aggressive efforts to secure land. The recent closing of this door of opportunity to the Japanese in California has therefore been a more serious blow to them than it would have been to other immigrants against whom there is less prejudice.

Outside of the western states, the most notable experiment of the Japanese in American agriculture has been going on in the rice fields near Houston, Texas. Unlike the ordinary immigrants, the Japanese who

started this colony are well-to-do men of good social position who came to America with sufficient capital to buy at once farms of their own. Some of them had no farming experience in Japan, but were journalists and business men who, for various reasons, invested their money in Texas land expecting to make it their permanent home. As far as possible their own countrymen are employed to supply the labor necessary to run their farms. Negroes seem to be so thoroughly disliked that they are seldom employed by the Japanese. In regard to their success and their adaptability to American conditions, Kawakami says:

None of the Japanese farmers in Texas had ever seen such heavy machines or handled such heavy teams as are used on American farms, yet these colonizers, after a brief experience of a year or two, are already thoroughly at home with those instruments, without at the same time losing any of their characteristic individuality. Aside from their color, these Japanese immigrants closely resemble the Americans. They live in American houses, wear American clothes, read American books and newspapers, and subsist on American food with a slight tinge of Japanese cookery. In intelligence and ingenuity they are not excelled by any ordinary American farmers. Their capital is not large, ranging from \$5,000 to \$10,000. With strict economy and vigilant frugality, however, they accomplish more than their American rivals possibly could with the same amount of money.¹

As far as their adaptability to American occupations is concerned, the Japanese have not laid themselves

¹ Kawakami, K. K., "Japanese on American Farms," the *Independent*, 59: 964.

open to serious criticism. They have proved themselves to be efficient in the lines of work in which they have been permitted to engage. Even their enemies agree that they are thrifty, industrious, capable, and ambitious. From the economic standpoint the chief charge brought against the Japanese has been their tendency to live below the American standard of living. It is claimed that one important factor in their success is their willingness to put up with conditions that the white man will not tolerate.

Without doubt the Japanese have been less successful in adapting themselves to American standards of living than to American methods of work. Accustomed as they were in Japan to live on what we regard as a low economic scale, they have faced in America the temptation to increase their savings by retaining their old standards as far as possible. Cheap living and long hours they regard as a matter of course. Their simple diet suits their taste better than the more expensive American food. Long hours of labor in Japan are the ordinary thing. The farmers toil from sunrise to sunset while in the small shops and factories work frequently goes on from early in the morning until as late as ten or eleven o'clock at night. The laborers have never learned to protest against bad working conditions. That unscrupulous American employers should take advantage of these facts and employ Japanese on terms with which Americans could not compete is to be expected. It is still more unfortunate that even after most of the inequalities in wages have been abol-

ished, many of the Japanese still tend to live on a lower economic scale than their wages would seem to justify. The rigid economy practiced by the ordinary Japanese laborer in America is thus described by Kawakami:

Wherever he may be employed, he has reduced subsistence into a science. Not the cost of food alone enters into his scientific solution of the problem, but his entire existence is regulated on a basis of rigid economy, so that he reduces the expenditure for essential subsistence to approximately twenty per cent of his average wages. He practices economy on the basis of his earning power and does not permit his expenditure to increase in the same ratio as his earnings may increase. The Japanese earning from \$1.25 to \$1.50 a day will spend from twenty to thirty cents a day for subsistence, while the average maximum cost of subsistence for those earning from \$1.75 to \$2.50 is thirty-five cents. Though spending so small a portion of his earnings for subsistence, he is enabled to subsist comfortably by eliminating unnecessary waste.¹

While this economy is commendable from the standpoint of thrift, it is at once apparent that it is a scale of living with which Americans cannot compete. To the Japanese peasant, however, this amount of expenditure seems amply sufficient when compared with his former mode of life in Japan. The following quotation from a Japanese writer shows the wide gap between the standards of living in America and in the Far East:

¹ *American-Japanese Relations*, pp. 349-50.

Though rice is considered the staff of life in Japan, it is not freely indulged in by the peasants who raise it. The poorer classes cannot afford to take unmixed rice; therefore they boil with it cheaper barley and millet. In some southern provinces sweet potatoes form the chief part of daily food. . . . A laboring man can get his food for about twenty *sen* a day, and he can feed his family (wife and a couple of children) on an additional thirty *sen*.¹ In fact, if he makes eighty *sen* and his wife thirty *sen*, a sum total of a *yen* and ten *sen* a day, they can keep a little house with two rooms, paying a rent of three *yen* per month, read newspapers (for the humblest can read), take daily baths (a racial necessity), send their children to school (for education is compulsory), and put in the savings bank two or three *yen* a month. Does this sound delectably Arcadian? And yet of families like these the duties of modern citizenship are demanded, viz., the payment of taxes, service in the army, and attendance at school on the part of the children.²

While the low social and economic status out of which many of the Japanese immigrants have come does influence their reaction to American environment, there is noticeable a growing tendency on the part of those who can afford it to live according to American standards. In so far as they have failed, it must be recognized that this has largely been because of economic reasons and not because of a dislike of American food and ways of living. Within recent years the Japanese have been insisting on high wages to such an

¹ A *sen* equals one-half cent and a *yen* one-half dollar, approximately.

² *The Japanese Nation*, p. 216.

extent that the charge of underbidding can no longer be made against them. They have even availed themselves of the western method of strikes, and as they are highly organized they usually win the point for which they are contending.

When due consideration is given to the enforced segregation of the majority of the Japanese in America, it can readily be seen that they have made considerable progress in their attempts to compete with American workmen. Probably no other people, handicapped as the Japanese have been by race prejudice, could have surpassed them in making so large a place for themselves in American economic life.

CHAPTER VIII

ORGANIZATION AND SOLIDARITY OF JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS

ONE of the striking characteristics of the Japanese in America is the thoroughness of their organization. Practically all the Japanese immigrants are bound together in groups of some kind, ranging in size and importance from laborers' gangs and local guilds to a national association. In their tendency to organize and in their ready response to group control, the Japanese have been equaled by few, if any, of the European immigrant groups. Probably the only immigrants who have surpassed them in this respect are the Chinese, whose marked leaning toward exclusiveness has served to bind them very closely together.

Among the various Japanese organizations, the one that is most helpful to the mass of the Japanese immigrants, who belong to the laboring class, is the "gang" system, or the organization of laborers into groups under a Japanese boss or contractor. When a Japanese laborer wishes to secure work, he does not usually apply to employers directly. If this were necessary, language difficulties together with his ignorance of local conditions and rates of wages would seriously handicap him and result in dissatisfaction for both parties concerned. The simplest method for him to

follow is to join a group of his countrymen under a Japanese boss who takes entire charge of all negotiations with the employers. These contractors usually have full supervision and control of their men, not only paying their wages and overseeing their work but conducting lodging houses where the men live on the cooperative plan. Some of these bosses have under them small groups consisting of about a dozen men, while others control hundreds of laborers. These organized gangs of Japanese have proved very acceptable to employers because it offers them an adequate labor supply with the least amount of trouble on their part. In the report of the Immigration Commission this fact was forcibly brought out in these words:

The convenience to ranchers of this organization of Asiatics has been one of the most important things in helping the Asiatics to displace white men where the latter were formerly employed, and to prevent the employment of white men where Asiatics were already established in the industry. This "gang" system has greatly appealed to employers in all agricultural communities requiring large numbers of hand workers, and in some industries where the work is especially disagreeable and especially large numbers are required, as in the beet fields and vineyards, it has come to be looked upon as absolutely essential to the continuation of the industry.¹

The success of this "gang" system in promoting the interests of both employers and Japanese laborers has been largely brought about by the efficiency of the

¹ *Report of Immigration Commission*, 24: 18.

Japanese contractors. These men watch very carefully the state of the labor market and make a survey of the important places where there is likely to be a demand for Japanese labor. They keep themselves fully informed of the number of acres under cultivation and of the probable yield of the different crops. They also make it their business to keep in touch with the large ranch owners in order that they may take advantage of every opportunity to get control of the labor supply.¹

This organization of Japanese labor is even carried out to the extent of eliminating competition between the different groups of Japanese laborers. Each gang has its territory assigned to it and is not allowed to invade a district belonging to another group. Efforts have been made by different bosses to get together at the opening of the season and agree upon a scale of prices so as to avoid underbidding. This thoroughness of their organization has frequently enabled the Japanese to drive out of a community competing laborers of other nationalities. The usual method followed was to secure contracts by underbidding the laborers already in the field and then later to raise the price to its normal level. Within recent years the Japanese contractors have found it increasingly difficult to secure enough laborers to maintain effective organizations. The exclusion agreement has cut short the supply of new laborers while thousands of the old immigrants have either gone into business for themselves or have

¹ *American-Japanese Relations*, p. 350.

secured steady employment on Japanese farms. But in spite of these handicaps, organized Japanese labor is still an important factor in many of the agricultural communities in California.¹

Another phase of the organization of Japanese laborers is seen in their arrangements for cooperative housekeeping. As board is seldom given them by their white employers on the large ranches, they are compelled to provide for their own subsistence. In case the Japanese contractor does not furnish their board at a fixed rate, they buy their own supplies, appoint members of the group to do different tasks, and all share equally in the actual cost. A recent writer gives the following description of this kind of housekeeping as carried on by Japanese laborers:

One of the best samples of housekeeping I have ever seen was done by the 140 Japanese who lived in the House of the Good Shepherd in South Omaha. A board of managers had charge of the affairs of the group. The secretary of the group kept all accounts and transacted all business with outsiders; the commissary had charge of the feeding of the group; the cooking, washing, and scrubbing were systematized; and each member was bound by a set of rules that secured peace and order. The men were constantly changing, some going and others coming; but the total number of the colony remained about the same. Whatever differences and difficulties arose, they were settled within the group. If any member got into trouble, the colony was back of him to the fullest extent. It was the most perfect organization on the communal basis I have seen, and, as far as I know, nothing like it is

¹ *Report of Immigration Commission*, 24: 591-94.

found in America among the peoples of southeastern Europe.¹

This efficiency in organization is found not only among the Japanese farm laborers but also among those engaged in farming on their own account. In communities where there is a sufficient number of Japanese farmers, there have been organized Japanese producers' associations which include in their membership the majority of the farmers of that race. These organizations are designed to protect the Japanese against unjust discrimination in the disposal of their crops and to advance the interests of the Japanese community in every possible way. They give out information about American methods of agriculture especially as they apply to local conditions; select tenants for farms that can be leased; advise prospective tenants in regard to available land and in some instances have taken steps to control the acreage and marketing of the crops.² Besides these direct economic aims, others of a more general nature are included in their statements of the purpose of the association. Thus in one case the object of the organization is said to be—

. . . . to advance the interests, uphold the dignity, and protect the happiness of the members and of the Japanese in general. . . . To assist in improving and ameliorating their moral, social, and economic conditions. . . . To maintain and insure cordiality between landlord and tenant, thus guaranteeing against all unnecessary mis-

¹ Roberts, P., *The New Immigration*, p. 124.

² *Report of Immigration Commission*, 24: 396-97.

understanding between them. . . . In case of dispute between landlord and tenant, to act as arbitrators and mediators with a view to seeing justice done to both parties. . . . To take a united and decisive stand against all unscrupulous parties and irresponsible tenants. . . . To make a concerted effort to procure for this section the best quality of Japanese labor available, in order more effectually to develop the fertile bottoms now so scantily populated.¹

The Japanese who reside in the large western cities are also highly organized. Very few of their business men hold membership in the American business men's organizations. Usually they form their own associations which are designed to promote the business enterprises in which they are engaged. Their most effective city organizations are those which are limited to one special business, trade, or industry, such as the Boarding and Lodging House Keepers' Association, Barbers' Union, Tailors' and Dressmakers' Union, Suit Cleaning Union, Restaurant Keepers' Association, Expressmen's Union, etc. As an illustration of the activities of these organizations the work of the Japanese Barbers' Union of San Francisco may be cited. The members of this organization pay fifty cents per month as dues. Regulations are made fixing the time for opening and closing the shops and the scale of prices. Sunday closing is enforced to conform to the city ordinance. The matter of apprenticeship is kept under careful control. The organization also serves as a

¹ *The American Japanese Problem*, p. 97.

mutual benefit society. In case a member, because of ill health, is compelled to return to Japan, the money is provided to pay his fare. If any member is disabled by sickness longer than a month, an assessment is made to provide for his support. Upon the death of a member his family is given a sum of money equivalent to the fare from San Francisco to Yokohama.¹

Strong pressure is brought to bear upon the Japanese to get them to join their trade guild or business association. Usually they find it to their advantage to do so because of assistance given in time of sickness or of financial embarrassment. The success which the Japanese have attained in city employments and in business has been greatly promoted by the thoroughness of their organizations, which have minimized competition among themselves and have enabled them to present a united front to the forces that have been hindering their advancement.

Another form of organization popular among the Japanese is the prefectural club which limits its membership to those who have come from the particular province in Japan that the club represents. Variations in dialect and in social characteristics, which are especially noticeable among the lower classes in the different provinces, together with the fellow feeling which naturally arises because of a common birthplace have tended to draw many Japanese together in these prefectural societies. In 1909, twenty-seven different prefectures were represented by these organizations in

¹ *Report of Immigration Commission*, 24: 25-29.

San Francisco. In general they serve as centers of social life and give assistance to those of their number who may be in need.

Probably the most important and influential of the Japanese organizations in America are the Japanese associations which have been established in more than fifty cities and communities. In each center of Japanese population there exists one of these associations which serves as a headquarters for the Japanese community as well as a clearing-house for all things of interest to them. Each association is controlled by a board of directors and employs at least one salaried secretary. All of these associations are federated in a central organization called the Japanese Association of America, which has its offices in San Francisco. The purpose of these associations as set forth in their constitutions is rather general and vague. The Japanese association in San Francisco states its aim as follows: "to elevate the character of Japanese immigrants; to promote association between Japanese and Americans; to promote commerce, agriculture, and other industries; and to further Japanese interests." In a number of cases the incentive to form these organizations was the prejudice against the Japanese, which made them feel that they must stand together in order to protect their rights.

Their work, however, has by no means been restricted to protests against unjust treatment. These associations, which include in their membership the best and most progressive leaders of the Japanese, have

made special efforts to elevate the moral standards of the Japanese immigrants and to eliminate some of the objectionable features of Japanese life. In Fresno, California, the Japanese association in 1908 took the initiative in a vigorous campaign against the Chinese gambling dens and the Japanese houses of prostitution which were doing a flourishing business in that city. The city authorities, who had been acting on the assumption that the wrongdoing of the Asiatics was of no special consequence so long as it was confined to their own communities, were aroused to action by the demands of the Japanese and made strong efforts to abate the evil. The Japanese associations have always been willing to cooperate with the American authorities in securing the observance of law among the Japanese immigrants. In some cases they have even deported Japanese whose evil conduct was bringing the Japanese community into disrepute. Their secretaries keep careful statistical records of all Japanese living in their jurisdiction and frequently cooperate with their consul by supplying him with information about their countrymen.

An interesting phase of the work undertaken by these associations is the part they take in the so-called "picture-bride" movement. A Japanese in America who wishes to secure a wife from Japan without the expense of crossing the ocean for her, is required to make application to the association of which he is a member. The secretary of the association then carefully investigates the financial standing and moral char-

acter of the prospective bridegroom and makes a full report to the Japanese consulate. If the report is satisfactory, the consul informs the Tokyo authorities, who then issue a passport to the girl who has consented to come to America as a bride. Because of the careful cooperation of these secretaries who are in a position to know the Japanese in their jurisdiction, the attempts of a few Japanese to use the "picture-bride" movement as a means of importing women for immoral purposes have been very largely foiled. The amount of work and responsibility involved in these investigations of Japanese bridegrooms can be seen by the fact that in 1914 more than twenty-five hundred "picture-brides" arrived in the United States and Hawaii.¹ It is claimed that the secretaries exercise great care in deciding about the fitness and ability of a man to support a family, and that they rigidly reject all unworthy applicants. Since this method of arranging for a marriage is not so different from the ordinary Japanese procedure, it seems more satisfactory to them than it would to an American and results generally in a

¹ According to the Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for 1914, the number of "picture-brides" who arrived at the port of Honolulu during the year ending June 30, 1914, was 1,407; at Seattle, 511; the exact number who arrived at San Francisco is not stated. However, the total number of females who arrived at this port was 1,845, of whom the report says that the "picture-brides are the predominating factor."

The Commissioner General's report for 1915 does not state the exact number of picture-brides for that year. It is estimated that ninety per cent, or more than 3,000, of the Japanese females entering continental United States in 1915 came in the capacity of picture-brides.

permanent union.¹ These marriages are undoubtedly doing much to give a permanent and settled character to the Japanese communities and are occurring in sufficient numbers to produce a substantial increase in our Japanese population.

The Japanese who have settled in the large cities in the eastern part of the United States, where race prejudice against Orientals is less in evidence than in the West, have also found it to their advantage to organize themselves as thoroughly as possible. The Japanese editor of the *New York Japan Review* describes as follows their association which has been established in New York City:

A new society, the Nippon Jin Kai, "Association of the Japanese," has recently been organized with headquarters in New York to foster friendliness and cooperation among the resident Japanese as well as to strengthen the friendly ties which bind the people of Japan and of the United States. The Nippon Jin Kai will take cognizance

¹ Dr. Gulick states that only about one per cent of these marriages end in divorce. (*The American Japanese Problem*, p. 95.) The Commissioner of Immigration presents a different opinion in a recent report: "Many of the 'proxy' brides conclude shortly after arrival that they have made a bad bargain and desert their husbands, and sooner or later enter upon an immoral life. Realizing this, the consul for this district is endeavoring to discourage the bringing of 'proxy' brides to the United States. . . . In view of this I would recommend that competent officers who understand the Japanese language make investigations occasionally in order to ascertain whether or not these 'proxy' wives are living with their husbands. They might also investigate as to the occupations of recent female arrivals. I believe the results would be somewhat surprising." *Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for 1914*, p. 305.

only of such matters as affect the general interests of Japanese, and will have no connection with official acts or opinions of the Japanese government. With this new society has been embodied the Kio Sai Kai, "Mutual Aid Society," organized here a half-dozen years ago; and the new inclusive organization, among its other beneficent activities, will aim to help, out of its membership funds, any Japanese who are ill or in other need. . . .

As Japanese and American interests become more and more interwoven, there will naturally arise manifold problems directly or indirectly affecting both peoples. In facing these problems, the Japanese who have organized this Association feel that it is incumbent upon them to take concerted instead of individual action. They also feel the importance of bettering their status—moral, mental, physical—by helpful counsel. With such convictions in mind the members of the society will strive for the promotion of welfare, the safeguarding of rights, and the better understanding of international questions.¹

The two leading Japanese organizations in Chicago are the Mutual Aid Society, and the Young Men's Christian Institute. Mr. Shimazu, who is the efficient secretary of the latter, is doing an important work for the Japanese in that city. The institute, which serves as the headquarters for the Japanese residing in and passing through Chicago, attempts various kinds of work. Lodging and board are provided as far as facilities permit; employment is secured for those out of work; a reading room is maintained which is supplied with both Japanese and English books and periodicals; a tennis court, billiard room, and other facilities for

¹ Editorial, *New York Japan Review*, May, 1914, p. 194.

recreation are provided; religious services are held every Sunday in the Japanese language; assistance is given to strangers passing through the city; and the secretary by frequent visitation keeps in touch with the three hundred or more Japanese living in Chicago and vicinity.

Religious organizations not only of this type but of various kinds play an important part in promoting the solidarity of the Japanese immigrants. In their religious activities the Japanese are seldom associated with American Christians. In order to provide for their religious needs, special Christian missions are established with Japanese pastors in charge. Language difficulties and the prejudice against the Japanese make necessary the segregation, as far as religious worship is concerned, of that element of our Japanese population which is most in sympathy with American ideals. In regard to this religious work which is being carried on by American churches, the report of the Immigration Commission makes this pointed observation: "These missions are for the Japanese alone, a recognition of a difference between them and other races and a condition which lessens their value as an assimilative force."¹ The number of Japanese Christian missions now maintained in California is forty-eight, with a total membership of about twenty-five hundred, or four per cent of the Japanese population in the state.

The great majority of the Japanese in America who

¹ *Report of Immigration Commission*, 23: 163.

manifest any religious interest are more or less closely identified with the Buddhist religion. The Buddhists in Japan and more especially those of the Shin sect have been very active in sending priests to America to carry on their propaganda among their own people. In California there are nineteen temples and twenty-one priests with a steadily increasing constituency. Buddhist missions are also located in Seattle, Portland, Salt Lake City, and Ogden, and very successful work is being carried on in Hawaii. To a considerable extent the Buddhist priests have adapted their methods of work to American conditions. Their buildings are usually a radical departure from the traditional type of Buddhist temple, and their religious activities are by no means limited to the reading of Sutras and their customary acts of worship. An American Buddhist plant with its gymnasium, library, auditorium, and various rooms for educational and social purposes bears little resemblance to the picturesque temples in Japan, so far removed from the active life of the people.

The Buddhist priests have not only succeeded in adapting themselves to the new situation, but have still further tried to promote their cause by an appeal to patriotism. Buddhism and patriotic devotion are joined together in such a way as to make it appear that the rejection of their old religion would mean disloyalty to their country.¹ Such an appeal exerts considerable influence among the more ignorant and lower classes

¹ *Asia at the Door*, p. 233.

of immigrants who form the largest part of the Buddhist constituency. In these and in various other ways the Japanese are making a determined effort to perpetuate their native religion on American soil, a fact of considerable importance in promoting the solidarity of the Japanese immigrants.

Another important phase of the organized activities of the Japanese immigrants is seen in their efforts to give their children a Japanese education. In British Columbia, where there is no compulsory public school law, the Japanese maintain their own schools patterned after the schools of Japan, with the instruction in the Japanese language. The public schools of British Columbia are open to the Japanese, but the majority of the Japanese parents prefer to give their children a Japanese education. In the United States, where there is a compulsory public school law, the Japanese very willingly send their children to the public schools. In order, however, to provide for the Japanese side of their education, they have established supplementary schools which usually hold their sessions for two or three hours in the afternoon after the regular schools are closed, and give instruction in Japanese language and composition as well as in Japanese history, geography, and ethics. Mr. Kawakami justifies the existence of these supplementary schools on the ground that they are performing a real service by giving instruction in subjects which are neglected in the American curriculum. In his opinion these Japanese schools are not open to the criticism that they interfere with the assimilation

of the Japanese children.¹ Others hold that they do teach a narrow patriotism and cause the Japanese to be regarded with more disfavor by their American neighbors. In the spring of 1913 a prominent Japanese resident of Seattle paid a short visit to Japan, and while there met an old American friend with whom he discussed topics of mutual interest. In the course of their conversation, the Japanese-American problem naturally came up for consideration, and upon this subject the Japanese expressed himself as follows:

The Japanese must bear their share of the blame for the race prejudice against them, which is so often aroused by their attitude toward American institutions. For instance, I have often been chided by my Japanese friends in Seattle for not sending my children to the Japanese school, where they would be taught the Japanese language and loyalty to the Emperor and reverence for Japanese traditions. I always reply to them that I am an American and that I want my children to grow up as American children. Furthermore, the teachers in the Japanese schools are likely to be Buddhist priests or acolytes, who know just enough English to enable them to swear. They smoke cigarettes in the schoolroom and set a bad moral example to the children. Through their desire to prevent the children from becoming Christians, they try to prejudice them against all American customs and institutions, and do their best to make the children loyal to Japan instead of to America. This is one of the reasons for the prejudice against the Japanese. As soon as the Americans found out that the Japanese immigrants had such an attitude toward American ideals, the feeling against them arose.

¹ *Asia at the Door*, pp. 81, 243-44.

Entirely apart from the criticisms that may be passed upon these schools because of incompetent teachers and because of their attempt to perpetuate in America their native language and traditions, the maintenance of these schools tends to draw the Japanese more closely together and reveals something of the strength of their national feeling.

In this connection there ought also to be mentioned the great influence of the Japanese vernacular press in promoting the growth of a common public opinion among the Japanese immigrants. Says Dr. Gulick:

It is doubtful if the immigrants from any other land are as alert as those from Japan in the use of the press for the promotion of their interests. Is there any other national group in America which, in proportion to its numbers, supports so many publications?¹

The Japanese people are great newspaper readers. The periodical press in Japan circulates widely even among the lower classes, the majority of whom possess enough education to read the newspapers. This same desire to read is characteristic of the Japanese in America. In spite of their limited numbers they support twelve daily, six weekly, and thirteen monthly newspapers and periodicals, all published in the Japanese language. Besides these larger publications, many of the small groups and organizations issue a kind of bulletin or news letter at frequent intervals in order that their members may keep in touch with one another.

¹ *The American Japanese Problem*, p. 100.

Through these various channels of communication news is presented from the Japanese viewpoint and a public opinion is formed which makes united action possible.

That a people so sensitive to their environment and so open-minded in their attitude toward western civilization should maintain such strong racial organizations must largely be explained by the prejudice existing against them. The hostile attitude of the American people has compelled them to organize in defense of their own interests. It is only by standing together that they can establish themselves in an unwelcome environment. They have felt that united action is necessary in order that employment may be secured, and their need of recreation and social intercourse has driven them still more closely together. They have faced in an intensified form the same problem that has confronted immigrants of all nationalities, and their response to the situation has differed from that of the others only in degree. The reaction of nearly all immigrant groups to their new environment has been organization to protect their interests. In so far as the Japanese have followed this natural tendency, they merit no special attention.

What is striking about the Japanese is their success in maintaining organizations that exert such strong control over all their members. The explanation of this fact must be sought in the social structure of the Japanese nation. In the Far East individuals have always been kept in the background. Such an idea as

personal liberty has never gained wide popularity in Japan. The individual has been taught to subordinate his interests to those of the family, the community, and the State. The principle that private interests must conform to the general good has permeated all the philosophy of the Orient. Consequently, subjection and obedience to authority are a characteristic of the Japanese people. They have learned how to increase their strength by standing together. That a people who have learned so thoroughly the lesson of social solidarity should present a united front in their contact with American environment is to be expected. Schooled as they have been in the idea of the supremacy of the group, the individualistic American spirit has affected them more slowly than it has the immigrants from Europe.

CHAPTER IX

THE PROBLEM OF INTERMARRIAGE

EVER since the beginning of the white invasion of the Far East in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there has been going on to a greater or less extent an intermixture between the white races of the West and the colored races of eastern Asia. Foreign sailors while in eastern ports have formed alliances with native women which have sometimes resulted in illegitimate offspring as inferior in character and social position as their parents who gave them birth. As soon as Westerners began to take up settled residence in the East for the purpose of engaging in business or in administrative work, more permanent unions with native women were entered upon, some being registered as legal marriages, while others, and these were by far the most numerous, were merely a state of concubinage winked at by the law and regarded as a necessary evil by the foreign communities. This aspect of the mixture of the white and colored races can best be seen in India, where the process has been going on for more than two hundred years and has brought about the formation of groups of Eurasians and Anglo-Indians sufficiently large to constitute one of the problems of that country.

In Japan, where free association with foreigners has

existed for only a comparatively short period, the Eurasian problem has not had time to assume much significance as far as numbers are concerned. There has been, however, an unusual amount of illicit relationship between foreign men and Japanese women of the lower classes. The attractiveness of the Japanese women together with their reputed willingness to hire themselves out to foreigners for a small sum has made the ports of Japan popular with sailors, traders, and visitors with a tendency to loose living. The few children that have resulted from these liaisons have generally, as might be expected, turned out badly and have served to strengthen the popular impression that Eurasian children are necessarily of an inferior type. This idea was given scientific expression by no less an authority than Herbert Spencer who, in a personal letter to Baron Kaneko, strongly condemned the practice of mixed marriages.

To your remaining question respecting the intermarriage of foreigners and Japanese, my reply is that, as rationally answered, there is no difficulty at all. It should be positively forbidden. It is not at root a question of social philosophy. It is at root a question of biology. There is abundant proof, alike furnished by the intermarriages of human races and by the interbreeding of animals, that when the varieties mingled diverge beyond a certain slight degree *the result is inevitably* a bad one in the long run. I have myself been in the habit of looking at the evidence bearing on this matter for many years past, and my conviction is based on numerous facts derived from numerous sources. . . . By all means, there-

fore, peremptorily interdict marriages of Japanese with foreigners.¹

While Spencer did not quote the sources from which he drew his conclusions, he must have had in mind the progeny of promiscuous unions found in the ports of the Far East where the type of parents and the social heritage of the children were usually of the worst. His attempt to support his conclusions by drawing an analogy between the intermarriage of different races of men and the interbreeding of different species of animals is by no means convincing to modern students. In spite of all differences in external appearance and habits of life, it is now quite generally held that the human race is biologically one. The modern races which are continually being brought into closer contacts with each other because of better facilities of communication and travel are themselves by no means pure, but are the result of a vast intermixture of different peoples going back into the remote past. In so far as the offspring of mixed marriages in Japan fail to measure up to the usual standard, the more probable explanation of this fact must be found in their bad social heredity and in the handicap such children must face because of the strong prejudice against them.

The correctness of this view is borne out by a study of the mixed marriages in Japan that have taken place in the higher social circles. Well-educated and successful Westerners like Professors Seymour and Eastlake

¹ From a letter to Baron Kentaro Kaneko written Aug. 26, 1892, and first made public by the *London Times* of Jan. 22, 1904.

of the Japanese government schools; Captain Brinkley, editor of the *Japan Mail*; Lafcadio Hearn, author of a number of books on Japan; Mr. De Becker, a Yokohama attorney, and others almost as well known, married Japanese wives of good social position and established themselves as permanent residents of Japan. Their children, with few exceptions, have turned out well and do not seem to be in health, ability, or moral character in any wise inferior to Japanese or European children of corresponding social rank. The great problem has been to give them a suitable education. The foreign fathers have been unwilling in most cases, to have the children enter Japanese schools and grow up as Japanese citizens. As far as possible they have tried to give them a foreign education by employing tutors or by sending them abroad. In either case they are unfitted for residence in Japan in the status of Japanese, which would seem to be the natural course for them to follow. Whether they have remained in Japan or have tried to gain their living abroad, they have had to face a prejudice, wherever their family history was known, that largely accounts for any failures that may be charged up against them.

It is, indeed, this prejudice against intermarriage which lowers the social status of not only the children but the parents as well, that is one of the chief arguments against the formation of such unions. The Japanese woman who marries a foreigner must brave the criticism and displeasure of nearly all her relatives and friends and suffers more or less social ostracism. She

finds herself cut off from many of her former associations with her own people and is given no social standing in the foreign community of which her husband is a member. It is hard to overestimate the feeling against mixed marriages in the Far East. Both the Japanese and the foreigners regard those who have entered upon such an alliance as having lowered their social position, and in countless ways they make plainly evident their disapproval. This taboo is undoubtedly responsible for the small number of mixed marriages found among the higher classes. Even though the foreign men are willing to face this social disapproval for the sake of a home, few Japanese girls of good family have sufficient courage and independence to marry contrary to the wishes of their parents, who almost invariably disapprove of foreign marriages for their children.

Practically no Japanese girls educated abroad have married foreigners during their long residence in a foreign land. While the characteristic subjection of Japanese women to parental authority might be sufficient to explain this, there is no available evidence that these girls have received desirable offers of marriage from foreign friends. In the first stages of race amalgamation the initiative comes from the men who happen to be isolated from women of their own race. Under normal conditions of association foreign wives are seldom chosen in preference to those of native birth.

Within recent years the most common type of intermarriage with the Japanese is that formed between

Japanese men and foreign women. This has come about because of the large number of Japanese men who have gone abroad, especially to America, for a more or less protracted stay. Unlike the Japanese women, they have felt themselves less under the influence of parental restraint and have in a number of instances contracted a foreign marriage. In case such families go to Japan to live, this type of intermarriage is very likely to result unhappily because the wife finds herself suddenly transplanted into a new social environment for which she is by no means fitted. Without a knowledge of the language and unfamiliar with the social customs of the new country, she must adapt herself to a family system in which the wife plays a much more subordinate part than is customary in the West. Not only is she received coldly by her husband's parents but she is also largely cut off from association with people of her own nationality, who assign her a lower social position because of her marriage with a Japanese. Especially is her lot unfortunate if her husband's income is not sufficient to enable them to live in foreign style. It is a rare foreign woman who can successfully adapt herself to a Japanese house and Japanese food and at the same time endure the isolation that is inevitable because of the existing prejudice against intermarriage. She also must bear in mind that in becoming the wife of a Japanese she has placed herself on an equality with Japanese women and must expect to receive the treatment accorded them. However considerate her husband may be, the weight of social custom

will naturally cause his attitude toward his wife to conform to the ideals of his own people. The Japanese family system demands as one of its first principles the recognition of the inferiority of woman and the subjection of her will to man. While this may be much modified by her husband's kindness and foreign training, yet her identification with the Japanese people makes her a part of this system, to which she must either conform or remain an outsider isolated from the people with whom she has cast her lot. Lawton in his *Empires of the Far East* expresses the following opinion about this type of intermarriage:

While the advocates of assimilation claim that the advancement of Japan as a nation entitles her people to be regarded as the equal of any other race, few if any of them are prepared for the marriage of western women with Japanese men. In making this reservation they completely spoil their whole case. It is in the nature of a recognition that the social standard in Japan is inferior to that which prevails in western countries. For it is indisputable that the marriage of a western woman to a Japanese lowers her status in society and exposes her to the indignities that are inseparable from the operation of the Japanese social system. . . . To anyone who chooses to inquire, facts are available proving beyond the merest shadow of a doubt that mixed marriages, in which the woman is of the white race and the man an Oriental, are attended by unutterable misery—misery that is invariably confined to the unfortunate lot of the wife. It may be urged that this state could only result where the Japanese belonged to the lower orders. Instances that have come within the knowledge of the writer conclu-

sively show this not to be the case. Japanese men of all classes are more or less imbued with a common idea in regard to womanhood, and it is the better classes who are generally seen abroad. Obviously names cannot be mentioned, but I have in mind more than one instance where members of the nobility and government officials, whose status in their own country gave them an open door to European society, have treated foreign wives with a degree of indignity, and often with a callous disregard for even the most elementary of human principles, that should place them outside the pale of civilization.¹

The foreign wife, however, is not the only one to suffer through these mixed unions. The Japanese husband residing abroad faces a delicate situation when he is recalled by his government to his native land, or when business interests demand his return. He is well aware that his foreign wife will not be made welcome by his own people, and knows that her presence may even hinder his social and official advancement. These considerations have sometimes resulted in the abandonment of the foreign family and in the securing of a divorce immediately upon the return to Japan. An example of this kind occurred in England a few years ago. A Japanese count, while residing abroad, married an English lady of good social position. Upon his return to Japan he left his wife behind with the understanding that she would follow him later. His family, not knowing of his foreign marriage, immediately took steps to bring about his betrothal to an imperial princess. The count, who was very desirous of

¹ *The Empires of the Far East*, 2:761-63.

forming such an alliance, determined to secure quietly a divorce from his English wife. In order to bring this about he first registered his marriage in a local police station so as to make it legal, and then shortly after dissolved the marriage by canceling the registration, a procedure that is permitted in Japan in case the wife does not offer any objections. He then removed to another section of the city where he would be under the jurisdiction of a different police district and continued the preparations for his wedding. Unfortunately for his plans, the newspapers got hold of the matter and gave it wide publicity. His engagement with the princess was broken off and he was deprived of his patent of nobility. From the Japanese viewpoint his greatest offense was not his abandonment of his lawful wife but rather the fact that his mixed marriage injured the prestige of the Japanese nobility.

On the other hand, it sometimes happens, especially in the diplomatic circles, that the desire to live in foreign style may cause a foreign wife to be regarded as a decided advantage. Japanese government officials who reside a great deal of the time abroad find it much easier to carry on their social duties when aided by a foreign wife. Viscount Aoki married a German lady, and their daughter is now the wife of a German baron. Mr. Ozaki, formerly mayor of Tokyo, and Minister of Justice in Marquis Okuma's cabinet, married a very accomplished Eurasian. Marriages of this kind, where the husband has sufficient income to live in foreign style and where his official position gives him prestige

in social circles, do not seem open to such serious objections provided the welfare of the children can be secured. An American, who for a number of years has been in close touch with Japanese higher social circles, writes in a private letter as follows concerning this aspect of intermarriage:

I feel that the Japanese are sufficiently prejudiced against foreigners, as such, to believe that while socially a foreign wife is no advantage to one of their subjects, such a possession might be sometimes an advantage in getting on with foreigners abroad and therefore is under such circumstances pardonable from the utilitarian point of view. In discussing the subject with Baron Kanda once, he admitted to me that the main objection of the Japanese to marriage with foreigners is the disadvantage it brings upon the offspring, as Eurasians are despised alike by Japanese and Occidentals. But so long as Japanese of high class show no disposition to want wives of equal class abroad, prejudice of a powerful kind must exist, but whether it is more on the foreign than the Japanese side may be a question, though I fancy it is stronger on the Japanese side. The recent coronation ceremonies, wherein the Imperial family spent nearly a month going about worshiping their ancestors, shows that the Japanese believe it possible to have a god of their own, or, if not that, that God Almighty is a Japanese, whom others ignorantly worship under another name. All this, to me, proves the existence of a racial and national self-conceit that could not believe a foreign woman fit to be the wife of a Japanese, except in an inferior way. As Viscount Aoki was believed to have also had a Japanese wife, he was, it is said, excused for taking a foreign mistress while abroad; and many Japanese never look upon the foreign wife as any more than a mistress of con-

venience. I have heard Dr. Nitobe criticized by Japanese as "more than half foreigner," but whether it was because of his foreign marriage was not stated, though I suspect that was the reason. On the whole, then, you will see that my conviction, backed up by numerous inferences, is that the Japanese regard it as derogatory to marry foreigners; and, other things being equal, it would work out disadvantageously to a Japanese in official circles; while, as we know, no high-class Japanese woman has ever married a foreigner.

The sad side of this problem appears where a Japanese of the middle class marries a foreign wife and then takes her back with him to Japan. This has been done in a number of cases by Japanese men in professional life whose income is not sufficient to enable them to maintain a foreign standard of living. A Japanese dentist, a graduate of an American dental college, married an American wife and returned with her to Japan to practice his profession. He was a well-trained and capable man and had no difficulty in securing work, but when his prices were lowered to the Japanese scale he was unable to maintain a foreign establishment for his family. His wife, who could not adjust herself to the Japanese mode of living, found herself an unwelcome member of the foreign community and has been living, to all outward appearance, a very unhappy life. She stated to some of her friends that she went to Japan believing that it was a land of sunshine and flowers where life would be ideal, but that her disillusionment had been complete.

Mr. Y. resided for a number of years in America as

an art student. In 1910 he married in New York City a German-American girl who accompanied him back to Japan. He set up a studio in Tokyo where he made an unsuccessful effort to earn a living as a portrait painter. He then went to Omori, an inland town north of Tokyo, and established himself as a photographer, using the last of his wife's money to buy the necessary equipment. This business brought in too small an income for him to provide foreign food for his wife, who was unable to accustom herself to Japanese diet. Finally he became so involved in debt that he had to give up his business and was left penniless with a foreign wife and two small children dependent upon him. Their plight was discovered by an American missionary who took the family to Yokohama and made an effort to find employment for him. Since no work could be found which would enable him to support his family in reasonable comfort, it was decided to send them back to America. A purse of several hundred dollars was raised among the foreign community, their debts were settled, and their fare paid back to New York. The wife found, to her chagrin, that by her marriage to a Japanese she had forfeited her American citizenship and consequently had to suffer all the trouble and indignities an Oriental must face in securing entrance to America.

Dr. K., a graduate of the medical department of the University of Michigan, married a well-educated American girl of good family. The bride at the time of her marriage had several thousand dollars, all of

which was used to pay the expenses of a prolonged stay on the Pacific coast. After their arrival in Japan, Dr. K. established a hospital in Tokyo and became a successful physician. His attitude, however, toward his wife changed and he treated her with such harshness that her life became unhappy. Her distress was further increased by the fact that her husband brought Japanese girls into the home who lived there openly as concubines. Constant brooding over her unhappiness undermined her health, and although she was but a young woman, her hair turned snowy white. Since her position in her home was becoming more and more unendurable, some American friends furnished her with transportation and sent her back to America to her parents.

An English lady came out to Japan to visit her brother, who was a medical missionary in Tokyo. Soon after her arrival in Japan she fell in love with a Japanese whom she married in spite of the protests of friends and relatives. In the course of a few years it was discovered that her husband had a Japanese wife and family in another part of the city whom he visited at frequent intervals. The strain of supporting two families was too much for his slender resources, and his foreign wife and children would have fared badly if her brother had not given them needed financial assistance.

Similar instances as tragic as the above might be cited if further proof were required of the unhappiness likely to result from such marriages. Dr. Gulick, after

strongly denouncing the theory that Eurasian children are of an inferior type, registers his conviction that intermarriage of Americans and Japanese is at present inadvisable.

It may be set down as a universal rule that intermarriage of races should follow, not precede, social assimilation. Suppose that a Japanese man of ordinary social rank and corresponding means marries an American wife in America and takes her back with him to Japan. He has his ideal of a home—a Japanese home—and she has hers of an American home. Her position in her Japanese home, however, is largely determined by the ideals and demands of *his* mother (her mother-in-law) and by all his kindred. Now, for an American girl to take up life in a Japanese home, first coming to know it in adult years; for her to begin then to learn the language and customs of Japan, to cook and to eat their food, and to live entirely as they do, would be such an awful experience that, no matter how much her husband might love and seek to help her, it would be a fearful ordeal and could hardly end in permanent happiness. Her health would probably give way under the strain. Moreover, it would be impossible for her to impart to her children a Japanese social heredity. Although she might seek to suppress her social influence, that would be only partly possible. The children she rears could not but be partly foreign in manner and thought as well as in looks.

The case, however, would be quite different if the man is a wealthy Japanese, with high social rank, who, even in Japan, can afford to live and prefers to live in foreign style and desires his children to be foreign. The probability of a happy marriage would, in this case, be largely increased. But unless the Japanese husband adopts to a large degree the wife's ideal of the social freedom of

women, the American wife would find her secluded life almost intolerable. Such cases are not unknown in Japan. The American wife who goes to Japan to live should, of course, be prepared to accept the Japanese ideal as to the home and the duties, obedience, and responsibilities of the Japanese wife. Even though the husband may seek to relieve and help her, there are the relatives, and peace demands acceptance also of their ideals, or collision will result and unhappiness follow.¹

The fundamental objections to such intermarriage must be based upon social considerations—differences in standards of living, social customs, family system, ideals of home, and even moral standards—rather than upon the contention that the offspring are inferior in type and show a tendency to degeneracy. No valid conclusion can be drawn on the biological side from the unfortunate condition of some of the illegitimate Eurasian children found in the ports of Japan. The very circumstances in which they were brought up, the attitude of the better classes of the community toward them, would make their degradation almost a matter of course. Even the majority of the Eurasian children of the better classes cannot be said to enjoy in Japan a favorable opportunity for proper development. Prejudice closes many doors in their faces and makes it hard for them to succeed unless gifted in a more than ordinary way. Detailed studies of the careers of Eurasians in Japan have unfortunately not yet been undertaken, but two valuable expressions of opinion on this

¹ *The American Japanese Problem*, pp. 157-58.

subject have been made by Dr. Baelz and Captain Brinkley, two well-known authorities on things Japanese. Dr. Baelz says:

As a physician in Tokyo during thirty years I have had the opportunity of examining an unusually large number of Ainoko (half-breeds) and I have paid particular attention to them. The result of my observations is that they are a healthy set of people. . . . They are, on an average, well built, and show no tendency to organic disease more than Europeans or Japanese do. This is the more remarkable as many of them grow up under unfavorable circumstances, the father often having left them with little money to the care of a mother who has no authority over them. This is a particularly important point if the moral qualities are considered. In Europe, too, we know that abandoned, illegitimate children very often turn out badly, and a fair comparison must take that into serious consideration. To make quite sure about the intellectual and moral qualities of the Ainoko, I have asked the opinion of the man who is more than any other qualified to give an authoritative judgment—Mr. Heinrich, Director of the School of the Morning Star. He has had in his classes, side by side, Europeans, Japanese, and almost all the male half-breeds in Tokyo. His opinion is, that if properly brought up and well looked after, the half-breeds are morally and intellectually in no way inferior to the children of both races. As a rule, they are taller and more robust than the Japanese, and in every branch of learning they are fully up to the standard of their fellow scholars.¹

Captain Brinkley corroborated this testimony in the following words:

¹ Quoted in *The Empires of the Far East*, 2: 772-74.

We desire to submit . . . the following figures, embodying the results of our own observation, spread over some thirty years. The total number of Eurasian children that have been known to us directly or indirectly throughout that period is 179. Out of these seven have died, and the causes of death were: childbirth, two; typhoid fever, one; peritonitis, one; whooping cough, one; and disease of the lungs, two. Among the remaining 172, one is hysterical and two are below the normal standard of intelligence, but all three cases are directly attributable to an aged, intemperate, or diseased parent. Two of the men are *mauvais sujets*, and one, though now a respectable member of society, sowed a good deal of wild oats in his youth. It results, then, that 169 have grown to maturity, and we may add that 166 of them are endowed with more than the average of normal and physical properties, though many have not by any means enjoyed average opportunities.¹

While this testimony seems conclusive as far as the normality of the Eurasian children is concerned, a more detailed account of their experiences would reveal a dark picture of difficulties such children must contend with while living in Japan. Without doubt there exists in Japan, among both the Japanese and the foreigners residing there, a much stronger prejudice against intermarriage than is usually found in America. The foreign communities in cities like Tokyo and Yokohama show their intolerant attitude in such a marked way that social isolation is the usual lot of Eurasian families. The Japanese show, if possible,

¹ Quoted in *The Empires of the Far East*, 2:772-744.

even greater intolerance, as would be natural among a people who are not accustomed to mixed marriages even with nations as closely allied with their own as the Chinese and Koreans.

In America, while the feeling, at least outside of California, is less bitter, the general consensus of opinion that the Asiatic is not our equal socially causes such marriages to be regarded as highly unfortunate. The social discrimination which all Japanese, including even students in university circles, must face, makes practically impossible any general tendency to marry into American families. In a university town of the Middle West a popular American girl found herself almost entirely "cut" by her social set because she persisted in publicly associating with a Japanese fellow student. Both of the young people were thoroughly in love with each other, but the idea of marriage was finally abandoned because of the earnest protest of friends. It is very evident that it is the social taboo rather than any innate feeling of repulsion that prevents amalgamation from taking place. •

Some Japanese, however, claim that American women are not attractive to them and that they would never be chosen in preference to women of their own race. The fact that American women are as a rule larger than Japanese men, together with the striking contrast between the characteristic independence of American wives and the submissiveness of Japanese wives, would seem to be a sufficient explanation of this feeling in so far as it really exists. But even after

due consideration is given to the influence of differences in ideals of beauty, intellectual traits, and family customs, it still remains true that the real bar to intermarriage is the strong feeling of disapproval that is so widely prevalent. Japanese residing in America seldom have the opportunity of meeting and associating with the best type of American girls. The association that leads to marriage is most frequently made possible by business relationships of various kinds. The Japanese may be a lodger or servant in the home where girls of a marriageable age live; he may become acquainted with them as stenographers or clerks in his office or store; or he may be thrown in contact with chambermaids and waitresses while employed in hotels and restaurants. Even in these cases the courtship cannot be carried on publicly without provoking serious criticism, and as a natural consequence intermarriages are infrequent.

According to the best figures obtainable, there are about three hundred Japanese-American families now living in America, fifty on the western coast and two hundred and fifty scattered throughout the eastern states. Some prominent Japanese are numbered among them, men like Mr. Kawakami, Dr. Takamine, Consul Kurusu, and others who have married into good American families, and who possess the financial ability and prestige to maintain comfortable American homes. By far the majority of such marriages have been made by Japanese of the middle or lower classes, and the women who have consented to share their lot have

largely been drawn from the ranks of European immigrants.

In California a strict law exists against such marriages, and in all parts of the country they are regarded as a serious violation of the social code.

The following examples of mixed marriages that have taken place in America may be regarded as fairly typical, and give a more vivid picture of actual conditions than would any amount of theorizing.

A Japanese student, a member of a prominent family, while attending Dennison University in Ohio, joined a fraternity and was encouraged by his friends to participate in social functions. A young lady who lived in the house where he had secured a room associated with him freely, and in course of time they became engaged. The Japanese then wrote to his parents for permission to arrange for his marriage, a request that so angered his father that his financial allowance was entirely stopped. When the young lady's parents heard of this, they broke off the engagement. The young man, who found himself suddenly thrown upon his own resources, left college, went to Columbus, Ohio, and secured employment in an amusement park. While there he became acquainted with an American girl of doubtful reputation, whom he married, the ceremony, in the hope of avoiding publicity, being performed by an obscure colored minister. The minister, however, told of the affair, and the newspapers published scathing criticisms of the marriage. In a few days the Japanese left his bride, partly

because of the unpleasant notoriety, and disappeared from the city. He finally drifted back to Japan, where he became involved in a love affair with a geisha girl and ended his life by committing suicide.

A Japanese traveling for a Japanese business house became acquainted in St. Louis with an American girl whom he later married. She was an orphan, with few friends, and entered upon the marriage with no thought of what it involved. Since her husband did not earn much money, she supplemented the income by working as a nurse. Because of their unsettled life, they have not set up housekeeping. In some places they have found considerable difficulty in renting rooms. In spite of the prejudice which they have had to face, they seem to be happy. They have no children.

A Japanese established a small restaurant in a city in Indiana and hired as a waitress a Polish girl who was unable to speak much English. In the course of time the two fell in love with each other and were married, an arrangement which proved satisfactory at least from a business standpoint.

A Japanese photographer with fair income married an American girl and moved to Chicago. They found prejudice so strong against them that they were for a time unable to rent a satisfactory apartment.

A Japanese engaged in the tea business in Chicago married an American girl who has been able to adapt herself successfully to Japanese ways. Because of the difficulty in securing an apartment, they bought a small home on the installment plan and have made it

a very attractive place. They have two small children who resemble their father in physical appearance. The children living in the neighborhood do not play with them readily. Although they do not have many friends, the family seems to be perfectly happy.

A Japanese employed as a butler in the home of an Episcopal clergyman in California succeeded in winning the love of the daughter of the house, a very accomplished and popular girl. As the laws of California would not permit their marriage, they went to Seattle, where the ceremony was performed. A few months later a child was born. The marriage has proved to be very unhappy.

A Japanese while employed as butler by a wealthy family near Palo Alto, California, became acquainted with their seamstress, a woman of English birth, thirty-seven years of age, who was generally described as unusually ugly and "queer." Considerable gossip was caused by his attentions to her. Several months later they were married and lived in the lodge of the family where they had previously worked, the Japanese still retaining his position as butler. They have a daughter now about ten years old.

A Japanese doctor, a masseur, married an American girl and is now living in a city of the Middle West. He is very successful in his profession and is well liked by the people who know him. Because of his popularity and his ability to support his family comfortably, the marriage has aroused very little unfavorable comment.

A Japanese boy worked in a Chinese restaurant in Minneapolis, where he received good wages and was able to save some money. In order to have social diversion, he learned to dance, and at a public ball became acquainted with an American girl with whom he fell in love. He wrote to Japan for permission to marry her, but was told that if he did so he would be disowned. Although his parents have offered to send him a Japanese bride, he has thus far refused to give up his American girl, and still hopes to marry her.

It can readily be seen from these examples that when these marriages take place on the lower levels of society the parties concerned face a serious handicap which it is hard for them to overcome. Prejudice usually thrives best among the more ignorant and lower classes, and those who are the victims of this prejudice are seldom able to rise above it. So keenly do some of these Japanese-American couples feel the power of social disapproval that they rarely appear together in public. If they enter the same street car, they will occupy different seats. In communities where Japanese children are popular, the Japanese-American children are likely not to enjoy this same popularity, but are sharply discriminated against by the American children living in their neighborhood.

In order that intermarriage prove successful it is not only necessary that there be congeniality and a sufficient income to make possible the maintenance of a good standard of living, but it is also of the highest

importance that those who enter into such marriages should possess a personality and strength of character that can win friends in spite of prejudice and rise above the petty insults and social discrimination they must face. The problem of mutual adjustment is naturally a more difficult matter when the contracting parties are members of a different race. The real difficulty is, however, that the problem is only half settled when an adjustment is satisfactorily made. Public opinion will not allow it to remain a merely personal matter. The social code has been violated, and the penalty of outraged social feelings must be paid. What this means in bitterness of heart and in lifelong unhappiness varies according to the character of the persons involved and the locality in which they live, but it is something from which they can never entirely escape.

Nevertheless, in spite of all the arguments that might be brought against intermarriage, we must be prepared to take a broader view of the problem than is ordinarily done. Race prejudice, or national prejudice, or even color prejudice, will not ultimately be allowed to say the final word. In these modern times the whole world is being brought more closely together. What this will mean in the breaking down of national lines and in the furthering of the process of amalgamation, only the future can reveal. The following statement by Dr. Conklin, professor of biology in Princeton University, expresses clearly a scientific view of the problem which is of deep significance in

connection with the increasing contact of the peoples of the East and West:

In the human species the only absolute barrier to the intermingling of races is geographical isolation. Every human race is fertile with every other one, and though races and nations and social groups may raise artificial barriers against interbreeding, we know that these artificial restraints are frequently disregarded and that in the long run amalgamation does take place. . . .

Whether we want it or not, hybridization of human races is going on and will increase. Partition walls between classes and races are being broken down; complete isolation is no longer possible, and a gradual intermixture of human races is inevitable. We are in the grip of a great world movement and we cannot reverse the current, but we may to a certain extent direct that current into the more desirable channels.

There is a popular belief that hybrid races are always inferior to pure-bred ones, but this is by no means the case. Some hybrids are undoubtedly inferior to either of the parents, but, on the other hand, some are vastly superior; only experience can determine whether a certain cross will yield inferior or superior types. Society can well attempt to prevent those crosses which produce inferior stock, while encouraging those which produce superior types.

It is this fact which makes the problem of immigration so serious. In general, immigration is regarded merely as an economic and political problem, but these aspects of it are temporary and insignificant as compared with its biological consequences. In welcoming the immigrant to our shores we not only share with him our country but we take him into our family and give to him our children or our children's children in marriage. Whatever the

present antipathies may be to our racial mixture we may rest assured that in a few hundred years these persons of foreign race and blood will be incorporated in our race and we in theirs. From the amalgamation of good races good results may be expected; but fusion with inferior races, while it may help to raise the lower race, is very apt to pull the higher race down. How insignificant are considerations of cheap labor and rapid development of natural resources when compared with these biological consequences.¹

¹ Conklin, E. G., *Heredity and Environment in the Development of Men*, pp. 417-19.

CHAPTER X

THE JAPANESE IN AMERICA AS A RACE PROBLEM

THE Japanese invasion of America, while insignificant as far as numbers are concerned, has brought this country face to face with a serious problem which does not admit of an easy solution. It has meant the coming of a people too different from ourselves to gain ready acceptance on terms of social equality, and yet too proud to occupy a position that would imply their inferiority. Similar invasions on a much larger scale by European immigrants have confronted us with various problems. But however low their social and economic status may be, the Europeans at least belong to nations that have much in common with us and against whom there exists no such deep-seated prejudice as is generally felt for the Asiatics. It is this that differentiates our oriental problem from the general immigration problem and makes it difficult to apply the same policy to both.

A calm recognition of facts makes clear the inevitability of Americans' preference for European immigrants. America and Europe are bound closely together by common ties of blood, customs, and traditions. America is what it is today largely because of what it has received from Europe. For more than a century an increasing stream of European immigrants

has been pouring into our cities and permeating the social life of the whole nation. Our open-door policy has become a sentiment among us to a larger extent than is often realized. We still like to look upon America as a haven for the oppressed in Europe, an attitude that is the more easily perpetuated because many of our population are either immigrants or recent descendants of immigrants with ties of blood and friendship binding them to the people of the Old World.

Our attitude toward the Japanese immigrant is entirely the reverse. As far as past history and traditions are concerned the Japanese have little in common with us, and the type of civilization they have built up differs greatly from ours. There is no sentimental bond binding us to them as is the case with the people of Europe. Already overcrowded as we feel ourselves to be with European immigrants, we are in no mood to silence the voice of economic warning and grant the same privileges to Asiatics that we do to Europeans. Here, it is felt, is a good place to draw the line that cannot yet be drawn against the European immigrants because of the prestige of past precedent and ties of common race. Human nature being as it is, the first discrimination would naturally be against those with whom we have least in common. Whether in the dealings of nations or in those of individuals, favors are almost inevitably shown to those to whom we are most closely attached. In one aspect our treatment of the Japanese is merely the reception of a stranger

in a home whose doorway is already overcrowded with friends demanding the continuance of past hospitality.

Europe, it also should be remembered, is a smaller country than Asia and has a much smaller population. We have no great fear of being overrun by the people of Europe. The teeming Asiatic millions, however, eager and likely, if not prevented, to come to America in hordes, is a picture that has impressed itself so deeply upon our minds that a vague feeling of fear is always associated with the thought of Asiatic immigration. Whether these feelings are justified or not, they do exist, and are partly responsible for our unwillingness to allow these strangers from the East to get a foothold in our midst.

But this discussion only hints at a more fundamental issue which is involved in our Japanese problem. The real cause of the discrimination against the Japanese is that they belong to a race which in color and physical characteristics is so sharply distinguished from the people of the West that they cannot merge themselves unnoticed into American life. Wherever they appear, the most evident fact about them is that they are Japanese. In their dress and speech and manner they may conduct themselves so much like Americans that they would not attract the least unfavorable attention if it were not that their external racial differences mark them out and stand as a symbol of the undesirable qualities we have been accustomed to associate with the lower classes of Asiatics. This point has been well

brought out by Dr. Robert E. Park in his recent discussion of racial assimilation :

The chief obstacles to the assimilation of the Negro and the Oriental are not mental but physical traits. It is not because the Negro and the Japanese are so differently constituted that they do not assimilate. If they were given an opportunity the Japanese are quite as capable as the Italians, the Armenians, or the Slavs of acquiring our culture and sharing our national ideals. The trouble is not with the Japanese mind but with the Japanese skin. The Jap is not the right color. The fact that the Japanese bears in his features a distinctive racial hall mark, that he wears, so to speak, a racial uniform, classifies him. He cannot become a mere individual indistinguishable in the cosmopolitan mass of the population, as is true, for example, of the Irish and to a lesser extent of some of the other immigrant races. The Japanese, like the Negro, is condemned to remain among us an abstraction, a symbol, and a symbol not merely of his own race but of the Orient and of that vague, ill-defined menace we sometimes refer to as the "Yellow Peril." This not only determines to a very large extent the attitude of the whole world toward the yellow man, but it determines the attitude of the yellow man to the white. It puts between the races the invisible but very real gulf of self-consciousness.¹

The significance of this aspect of the Japanese problem has not been sufficiently emphasized. Those who have regarded the problem as fundamentally racial have usually based their arguments on mental rather than physical grounds. The claim that they

¹ Park, R. E., "Racial Assimilation in Secondary Groups," *Amer. Journ. Soc.*, March, 1914, pp. 610-11.

put forth is that the Japanese are incompatible with American civilization because of their mental traits, mode of life, and ways of doing things, an argument that is by no means convincing, because it can be shown that all these characteristics are a result of social heredity, and therefore are capable of being modified in a new environment. It is not a mere matter of capacity for mental assimilation. This is all that is involved in the case of the European immigrants, who do not diverge radically from the physical type most common in the West. When they have adopted American standards and ways of living, they are to all outward appearance American citizens and become accepted members of American communities. The problem, however, is not so simple for the Orientals. They may show just as much skill as the Europeans in making a place for themselves in their new environment. The Japanese, as a matter of fact, are peculiarly responsive to strange surroundings, and, if given a fair chance, might surpass other nationalities in their ability to acquire American culture. But the difficulty is that they are not given a fair chance. Belonging as they do to a divergent physical type, they are set apart in a group of their own, and are denied the best opportunities for assimilation. Even though they overcome this handicap and succeed in Americanizing themselves, they still to all outward appearance remain Japanese and are classified as such by those with whom they associate.

The possession of racial marks or of physical char-

acteristics that differentiate the incoming from the predominant group is a factor in the oriental immigration problem that cannot be ignored. The immigrants whose physical appearance is such that they cannot within a reasonable time conceal their identity by the mask of Americanism inevitably bring in a race problem. Entirely apart from the question of differences in the type of civilization, the German and the Japanese immigrants cannot be regarded as having an equal chance in their struggle for existence under American conditions. In the one case prejudice disappears as soon as the necessary adjustments are made, while in the other it tends to be perpetuated because external marks continually proclaim their foreign origin and arouse the antipathies that are felt for people of a widely different race.

It is not a question whether their physical characteristics are attractive or repulsive to Americans. The problem is not lessened by the fact that the color of the Japanese is hardly more pronounced than is that of the people of southern Europe. Even when due allowance is made for their changes in physical appearance brought about by their reaction to their new environment—changes in the cast of countenance and in the peculiar mannerisms which play an important part in intensifying racial distinctions—the fundamental fact still remains that their physical type marks them out as Orientals wherever they are, and suggests to us all the undesirable connotations that are bound up with the word "Asiatics."

It is only by a recognition of this fact that the economic issue which complicates the problem can be seen in its right perspective. It has become the fashion in some quarters to ignore or minimize differences of race and to treat the question as though it were merely a matter for economic adjustment. Thus Dr. Clay MacCauley in a recent article published in a Japanese magazine says :

As I see it, "The American-Japanese Problem," however much other factors may affect it, is primarily and essentially economic. . . . It is altogether a radical error to burden this economic question with an influence so irrelevant and, in reality, so fictitious as "difference of race." The issue is essentially economic, and upon economic grounds it should, and I believe will, receive its solution.¹

Such a point of view which would regard racial differences as irrelevant factors is based more upon what ought to be than upon what actually seems to be the case. In the rise and development of the Japanese problem nothing has been more real than the prejudice existing against the Japanese. It has been the agitation against them as a race which has given this problem its peculiar quality. The economic aspect of the question has, of course, been an important factor, for the Japanese immigrants have been engaged in a struggle for existence that has naturally aroused the fear of severe economic competition. It is, however,

¹ MacCauley, Clay, "The American-Japanese Problem," *Rikugo Zasshi*, April, 1915.

a superficial view which would find the root of the problem in economic rivalry. The discrimination against the Japanese, which has debarred them from many of the desirable trades, is economic in the sense that it is an attempt to decrease competition, but it has been made possible only by the fact that the Japanese are unable to conceal their race affiliations. If they had been able, like the Europeans, gradually to merge themselves unnoticed among American workingmen, there would have been much less tendency to over-emphasize the economic difficulties.

As a matter of fact, within the past few years the chief economic problems connected with the Japanese immigrants have been to a large extent adjusted. With the coming into effect of the "gentlemen's agreement," the people of California need no longer fear an invasion of Japanese laborers. Thousands of Japanese have succeeded in making a place for themselves in the kind of agricultural work that is not attractive to white workmen, and so are not considered as rivals. Many large ranch owners have found the Japanese so satisfactory as seasonal farm laborers that they are making strong protests against any policy designed to cut off all Japanese immigration. As the Japanese have become more accustomed to American conditions they have raised their standard of living and are no longer making a practice of underbidding in the labor market. Yet in spite of this lessened economic friction, the prejudice against the Japanese remains, seemingly, as strong as ever. Even in places where there

is practically no competition with the Japanese, there are very few signs that racial barriers are breaking down. They are still held aloof, not primarily on economic grounds, but because they wear a racial uniform which stands as a symbol of all the vague, half-conscious fears, as well as of the feeling of strangeness and unlikeness that we have had for the Orientals.

It is this same fact of a divergent physical type that intensifies many minor causes of difficulty which otherwise would not attract serious attention. The low status of many of the Japanese immigrants, their agitation for their rights, their tendency toward clannishness, their reputation for business dishonesty, their overzealous patriotism, and their religious differences easily become magnified out of all due proportions because they are associated with the people of a race widely different from our own. In themselves these supposed characteristics of the Japanese do not possess great importance. They can, in fact, be affirmed of many of our immigrants from Europe, and are merely factors that enter into the immigration problem as a whole.

Their increased significance in the case of the Japanese arises from the fact that they must live among us as a separate racial group, thus making it inevitable that the undesirable attributes of the few should be regarded as peculiar to the whole race. This has been the real reason why the organized campaign against the Japanese in California has been carried on with such a large degree of success. The labor

leaders and the politicians could never have made the Japanese problem a national one without the aid of this background of racial difference. The economic difficulties and the various charges against the Japanese which were used as campaign issues gained their significance because the Japanese could be easily distinguished as a separate group from among the mass of the American people.

When due recognition is given to this fact, the difficulty of arriving at a satisfactory solution is easily seen. It is not merely a matter of economic adjustment, although this is highly important. More is involved than the promotion of a better mutual understanding between the people of the two countries. The fundamental problem is how to make possible the mingling of the white and colored races on terms of social equality based on mutual friendship and good will. This is an experiment that has never yet been worked out satisfactorily in any part of the world, whether with the dark races from Africa or with the more light-colored peoples of the Far East. Whenever there has been a meeting of the white and colored races, the whites have always assumed an attitude of superiority, regardless of the ability and the state of culture of their colored associates.

~. The Japanese are the first among the colored peoples to possess sufficient national prestige, and military power to make a strong protest against this humiliating treatment. Instead of acquiescing in the position assigned them, as, on the whole, the great mass of

the Negroes seem disposed to do, they have taken a bold stand for their rights and insist that there shall be no discrimination against them. Back of all their demands in connection with the problem of immigration is their determination to be received and treated as equals in every way, both socially and politically. No matter what terms they may be willing to accept now for the sake of expediency, they will ultimately be satisfied with nothing less than the recognition of manhood equality with all that it involves in the way of political rights and social intercourse.

It is, of course, obvious that a problem of this nature cannot be solved entirely by legislation. Even though laws were enacted guaranteeing to the Japanese all the rights now enjoyed by Europeans, the present tension between the two nations would by no means be relieved. On the contrary, to the extent that the Japanese would avail themselves of their opportunity to emigrate to America in unrestricted numbers, friction would increase and would likely lead to unfortunate results. The necessity of restricted immigration must be recognized. Says Professor Millis:

Injury would come to both parties in the event that immigration brought any considerable number of Asiatics to our shores to share the soil with the elements in the white population of the West. Any immigration policy adopted must be based upon a recognition of this fact. Otherwise it will only create problems; it will not solve them.¹

¹ Millis, H. A., *The Japanese Problem in the United States*, p. 288.

Dr. Gulick states this same point in an even more forcible way:

Were immigration as freely granted to Asiatics as it has been to Europeans, the Pacific coast states would undoubtedly be invaded by millions in the course of a few years. Coming by the hundred thousand annually, they could not learn our language, nor we theirs. Assimilation and mutual understanding would be impossible. The result would be Asiatic and American institutions and customs struggling side by side, an *imperium in imperio*, with endless rivalry and serious danger of collision.¹

It is generally agreed that legislation designed to grant the Japanese the rights they desire to obtain would result only in a more aggravated situation. On the other hand, the passage of an exclusion law, or even the continuance of the existing "gentlemen's agreement," is objectionable to the Japanese because of its discrimination against them. In order to avoid this dilemma and make possible restriction without discrimination, Dr. Gulick has proposed the enactment of a general immigration law which would apply impartially to all nations.

A law which would, in his opinion, meet the needs of the case has been stated by him in the form of the following amendment to the Immigration Act now in force:

Provided, That the number of aliens of any race (single mother-tongue group), who may be admitted to the United States in any fiscal year shall be limited to five

¹ From an address delivered before the Senate Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, Jan. 31, 1914.

per cent of the number of native-born persons of the first generation, together with the number of naturalized citizens of that race in the United States at the time of the national census next preceding; except that aliens returning from a temporary visit abroad; aliens coming to join a husband, wife, father, mother, son, daughter, grandfather, grandmother, grandson, granddaughter; aliens who are government officers, and aliens who are travelers or visitors and who do not engage in any remunerative occupation or business in the United States, shall not be included within the five per cent limit above provided. Provided, further, that all laws relative to the exclusion of Chinese persons or persons of Chinese descent are hereby repealed.¹

The fundamental purpose of this proposed law is to make possible the treatment of all races on the basis of equality, and at the same time to prevent the coming of a larger number of immigrants from any one race than could be readily assimilated. As it would practically work out, it would allow full immigration from the countries of northern Europe except Russia, would decrease the number of immigrants from southern Europe about eighty per cent, and would permit about one thousand each year to come from China and the same number from Japan. While such a law theoretically seems adapted to meet the present situation, it is such a radical departure from our traditional policy concerning European immigration that it is doubtful if in the near future it would receive the support of the American public. It contains the impli-

¹ From address before the Senate Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, Jan. 31, 1914.

cation that the very evident and practical differences between the Asiatic and European immigration are not of sufficient importance to deserve recognition. There is in it also the tacit assumption that all alien peoples have the right to equal treatment, irrespective of what may seem to be to the best interests of all concerned. The possible effects of this upon our rights of sovereignty, as well as upon our international status, ought to be carefully weighed before the adoption of such a change in our immigration policy. Furthermore, such a law is unlikely to prove pleasing to the Japanese people, who to all practical intents and purposes, even if not theoretically, would be discriminated against because they would still be deprived of the privilege of coming to the United States to a much greater extent than would the majority of the European peoples. It would seem far better to recognize frankly the existence of a different problem in the Asiatic immigration that makes necessary for the present the adoption of a special policy which can only gradually approximate that designed to regulate the immigration from Europe.

Efforts to secure legislation that would ignore the existence of race factors may not be the best means of overcoming race prejudice. On the contrary, such legislation, unless it is satisfactory to those most vitally affected by it, would involve us in more serious difficulties. Laws designed to remove the disabilities of the Japanese can by no means be regarded as the final solution of the problem. The fault is not pri-

marily with our laws, but with our attitude of mind toward the eastern races. Notwithstanding the tendency in some quarters to ignore it, our attitude toward the Oriental is very different from our attitude toward the European. The natural feeling of difference of race that is called out by the presence of any foreigner is intensified in the case of the Orientals by the fact that we instinctively place them in a different social category from ourselves. We are ready to admire their skill in art and have a wholesome respect for their military efficiency, but we feel quite sure that they do not belong in our social circle. In the minds of many Westerners the Orientals seem mysterious and uncanny—inhabitants, so to speak, of another world, with whom we do not care to associate and about whose accomplishments we have a tendency to manifest surprise. Their different physical type prevents them from becoming an indistinguishable part of our American population, and this aids in perpetuating this feeling of their strangeness and inferiority. As long as such a feeling as this exists to any general extent, legislation, however favorable to the Japanese, will be of little avail in giving them full entrance into all the privileges and opportunities of American life.¹

¹ Viscount Kaneko in a recent letter to Dr. Shailer Mathews voiced this same opinion: "I feel that so long as the racial prejudice is dominating the question, the change of heart of the people is necessary. Until that was accomplished, no matter what treaty or diplomatic agreement might be reached between the two governments concerning the question, it could not be regarded as a final solution of the problem."—*The Biblical World*, June, 1915.

The first step toward a solution of the Japanese problem must be a willingness on the part of both Japanese and Americans to recognize the importance of the racial factors involved. This is naturally a sensitive point with the Japanese, for they are in the position of outsiders trying to get accepted in a more attractive social circle. Any suggestion that the real difficulty is racial implies their lack of the necessary qualifications and, of course, arouses their resentment. In order to avoid giving offense, the fact of race differences is usually kept in the background, except by those who are strongly anti-Japanese. During the negotiations at Washington in 1913 between Viscount Chinda and the Federal government concerning the California alien land law, the Japanese ambassador was given repeated assurances by both the President and the Secretary of State that "the enactment was based on purely economic considerations and was not the outcome of racial prejudice." This official hypocrisy may perhaps be justified on diplomatic grounds, but it can hardly be contended that such declarations convince anybody, least of all the Japanese, that race prejudice has played such an insignificant part in the American-Japanese problem. The fact that race prejudice is always unreasoning, that it is found in its most virulent form among the lower classes, and that it betrays a narrowness of mind and a provincialism incompatible with an ideal state of culture, does not justify us in minimizing its importance or in pretending that it does not exist. Such a policy results only in further mis-

understandings and in more strained relations because of its lack of frankness and sincerity.

The fact that the fundamental point at issue is a problem of race need not make us despair of finding a satisfactory way out. Race prejudice is not so deeply rooted that it cannot be eradicated. It is largely a superficial matter and tends to break down with constant association. In so far as our antipathy to the Japanese is based upon their strangeness and their lack of conformity to our western type, it will gradually disappear as the two races become more familiar with each other. Even now the peculiar physiognomy of the Japanese is not repulsive to us. It arouses prejudice largely because it stands as a symbol of the Orient, continually reminding us of the gulf between the two races.

While all this tends to break down in time, under favorable conditions, we must not forget that a satisfactory solution will not follow necessarily as a matter of course. When strong prejudice exists against such a clever and ambitious people as the Japanese, there is a real danger that the final result will not be assimilation, but mere adaptation. Instead of becoming a real part of all our varied activities, they may be driven into a separate group that is compelled to maintain itself by feeding upon rather than furthering the interests of the American community. They will never occupy the subordinate position we assign to the Negroes and be content to do the drudgery expected of inferiors. / Their reaction to segregation will more

likely be similar to that of the Jews, who, in spite of their many excellent qualities, have tended to make a place for themselves in the European countries where prejudice against them was strongest by taking advantage of the moral weakness and disorganization of the people among whom they lived. A clever people like the Japanese will make a place for themselves in America in spite of all obstacles. Just what will be the nature of the place that our race prejudice will compel them to occupy is worthy of serious consideration.

This suggests the importance of a strict limitation of the problem by bringing about the mingling of the people of the East and the West only under circumstances most favorable to a proper appreciation of each other's essential character. In order to bring this about, patience as well as mutual forbearance is necessary. The Japanese must see the wisdom of permitting only the best representatives of their race to come to America. We Americans, on our part, must rise above our petty provincialism which makes us unwilling to recognize true worth in men of different race. It is too much to expect that either nation will suddenly make such a radical change in its attitude. The best that we can hope is that wise statesmanship will guide the policies of the two countries while necessary adjustments are being made in their international relations. Race problems admit of no categorical solution by the fiat of the legislator or by the exhortations of peace advocates, for they gain their strength from

slow-moving and powerful forces that have made possible the development of race solidarity. The American-Japanese problem must be worked out by a gradual process which it may take generations in order to make complete.

In the meantime nothing is more fraught with peril than the continuance of our present half-hearted and irresolute policy toward the Far East. We are so obsessed with our feelings of self-sufficiency and superiority that we fail to appreciate the real significance of the oriental problem. We seem to lose sight of the fact that the few thousand Orientals in our country are but the vanguard of many millions in Asia who are eagerly awaiting the chance to cross the Pacific. The movement is one that it will be difficult to repress, because the motive force behind it is economic—the struggle for existence under conditions that are too hard to be borne.

From the standpoint of Asia the problem is of vital importance. It is the outward thrust of a surplus population seeking a better place for itself in the world. When this oriental horde reaches America it is inevitable that the situation should be further complicated by the factor of racial conflict. The Orientals face here a different civilization, and cannot be readily assimilated because of differences of race. The increased economic competition and their lower standards of living intensify the racial animosities and make more remote the possibility of a satisfactory solution.

For two generations a few thousand Chinese have

been living among us, and hardly a step has been made toward their assimilation. After twenty-five years' contact with such an adaptable people as the Japanese, we find them still forced to live in segregation, deprived of the best opportunities for success in our industrial life. In spite of this, the Japanese insist upon their right to enter America. Back of their insistence is the pressure of economic necessity, which is being increasingly felt throughout the whole Orient. To the significance of this situation we remain blindly indifferent. Our present temporizing policy, together with our lack of military preparedness, is earning for us the contempt of the Far East, and may help to precipitate the conflict we are trying to avoid.

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CHAPTER XI

THE WORLD SIGNIFICANCE OF WAKING ASIA

WHAT Japan has now to do is to keep perfectly quiet, to lull the suspicions that have arisen against her, and to wait, meanwhile strengthening the foundations of her national power, watching and waiting for the opportunity which must one day surely come in the Orient. When that day arrives, she will be able to follow her own course; not only able to put meddling Powers in their places, but even, as necessity arises, to meddle with the affairs of other Powers. Then truly she will be able to reap advantage for herself.—Count Hayashi.

We have no choice, we people of the United States, as to whether or not we shall play a great part in the world. That has been determined for us by fate, by the march of events. We have to play that part. All that we can decide is whether we shall play it well or ill.—Roosevelt.

As students of the West we are vitally concerned with the awakening of half our world. Whether we will or not the East is upon us. For good or evil, Asia is at our door. We must help to solve the problem we have done so much to create, and for the solution of which we hold the key.—Sherwood Eddy.

That Asia is awake and is becoming increasingly conscious of its strength is a fact that can no longer be ignored. For many years the West has found it very convenient and quite to its own interest to regard

the Orient as a sleeping giant which could be exploited or insulted as the occasion seemed to demand. It has been assumed that the white man, because of his superior intelligence and culture, has the first right to all the desirable places in the world; that men of color should do the bidding of the white man and contribute to his prosperity; that our self-imposed task of uplifting these backward races should atone for any seeming wrong and injustice that we may cause them to suffer. Such assumptions have proved so advantageous to the West that we have been loath to believe that the revolutionary changes in the East have any serious significance for us. While Japan's rapid growth in military power, her victory over a western nation, and her imperialistic ambitions have provoked much comment in Europe and America, there has been too little effort made to see the bearing of it all upon the future relations of the East and the West.

In many quarters it has been the tendency to regard the awakening in Asia as confined largely to Japan alone. Western writers usually describe the Japanese as a peculiarly adaptable people who possess far more than other Orientals the gift of profiting by contact with foreign civilization. When our attention is called to a possible yellow peril, we comfort ourselves with the thought that ambitious Japan is only a small island empire and that the vast mass of the Orient is still asleep. But the whole trend of recent events in the Far East makes it clear that the awakening of Asia cannot be limited to any one nation. The past failure

of the Chinese to profit by western intercourse must be attributed not to any racial inability, but to their strong prepossession in favor of their own civilization. Under the stress of the necessity of protecting their national existence they are showing a remarkable facility in learning the lessons that the West has to teach. It is now plainly evident that the Chinese millions are abandoning their complacent, self-sufficient attitude and are gathering their strength in a more determined and effective manner than has ever characterized them in the past.

That the general awakening in eastern Asia will eventually mean a military struggle between the East and the West is a possibility about which it is useless to speculate. We may be sure, however, that these changes now going on in the East will involve radical readjustments in our international relations with oriental powers. The West has already learned the necessity of dealing with Japan as an equal. When China has gained sufficient prestige to demand similar treatment our old attitude of superiority and condescension toward the yellow races can be maintained only at our peril. Foreign aggression in the Orient will then be no longer tolerated. The right of oriental nations to govern their own territories will be recognized as the natural thing. The sorry spectacle of the great Chinese nation split up into a number of foreign principalities will only be a matter of historical interest.

It is conceivable that the revolutionary readjustment of western relations with the Orient may take place

without force of arms. Eastern peoples have too great a recognition of the value of trade to wish to drive the West out of the East. They will insist on their right to rule themselves, but economic necessity will insure a ready welcome for foreign capital and will make the presence of foreign business men a necessary factor in their business and industrial life.

The world significance of waking Asia must be found not so much in a military yellow peril that will close the open door in the East, but rather in the increased stimulus that will be given to emigration from the Orient to the West. Up to the present time western opposition to oriental immigration has kept back the stream of Asiatics that has threatened to pour into the more sparsely settled regions of the western world. Whenever the Orientals have tried to better their lot by sharing in the opportunities to be found in the countries dominated by white men, they have met with a stern rebuff. Their exclusion thus far has not caused serious trouble. With the balance of power in our hands, they did not dare to question the justice of our decision.

But with Asia thoroughly awake the problem may not be so easily solved. It is not merely a question of the oriental nations gaining sufficient military power to compel us to adopt a different policy. The point of even more vital significance is the fact that an awakened Orient will have new desires that their country cannot satisfy and which will make almost irresistible the tendency to emigrate to lands that offer better

opportunities. When five hundred millions of Asiatics become filled with the restless spirit that results from contact with a higher standard of living, existing treaties may prove to be ineffectual barriers to the oriental invasion.

It is this aspect of the oriental problem that vitally concerns the western world. On the one hand, we have the sparsely settled countries of the West, with their wonderful opportunities for exploitation and development; on the other, the constant push of economic forces literally driving the people of the crowded East out into the more favored lands where the conditions of life are not so hard. It is at once evident that here exists a situation with which it will be difficult to deal. It involves more than the question of an armed Orient ready to fight for its honor and for the things it may choose to demand. The motive power back of the movement is stronger than political force. It is nothing less than hunger, the desire for food to sustain life and make possible the rearing of their children—a fundamental need for the satisfaction of which men will stop short not even of death.

A glance at present conditions in the Far East will at once make clear how actively these economic forces are at work. Japan is now in a stage of industrial transition. The old handicraft system is giving way to factories, thus throwing out of employment thousands of skilled artisans. The rapid development of industry has caused a movement of population to cities, with all of its attending evils of congestion, improper

sanitation, hard working conditions, and low wages. These workmen are forbidden by law to try to better their condition by organization. They are ground under the heel of an industrial despotism that has served to increase their wants without giving them an adequate chance to satisfy them. The new régime has meant a great increase in prices without a corresponding increase in rates of wages. Modern science has greatly lowered the death rate, while the birth rate has not been checked. With an annual increase of about 700,000 people, competition is becoming so keen that many are forced to the wall. The government, instead of coming to the rescue of its people, makes excessive demands both in military service and in direct taxation. The Japanese are in fact the most heavily taxed people in the world.

All this has brought in an era of discontent that at times threatens the stability of the government. So hard is the struggle for existence of the mass of the people that thousands look eagerly for a chance to go abroad, where they can make a new start in life. The government, in their attempt to guide this movement, have sought outlets for their people in Korea and Manchuria. Thus far this solution of their problem has resulted in failure. The difficulty is that they are countries where already live plenty of laborers who have even a lower standard of living than the Japanese. The only immigrants who can succeed there are those with capital to invest in business enterprises. Penniless and unskilled laborers find themselves driven

against worse conditions than they had to face in Japan.

Consequently, the stream of emigration tends to go to America, where even the most poverty-stricken workman has a fair chance to succeed. Only those who have lived in Japan and have come in sympathetic touch with the common people can realize how prevalent is this desire to go to America. As is sometimes said, America is the land of their dreams, a goal far more attractive to them than even the enchanting paradise pictured by popular Buddhism. This strong desire to go to America has been kept in check only by the strict regulations of the government. If the bars were let suddenly down, the emigration to America would not be by thousands but by tens of thousands. The pressure brought to bear upon the government to make this possible can hardly be overestimated. In their statement of their case to America they usually assert that the motive back of this movement is the vindication of their national honor, the determination to share in the rights granted to other nations. In reality, although the Japanese may not be fully conscious of it, the motive force behind it all is economic, the elemental desire for a better chance in life, a force that may soon be beyond the power of their government to control unless impassable barriers are erected abroad.

When we turn to China we see a situation as yet less acute but fraught with still greater consequences because of its vast population and the extent of its

territory. The Chinese people, who outnumber us five to one, are facing all the evils of overpopulation. Abject need has taught them how to exist on the lowest possible scale of living. Very few Americans realize what a narrow margin separates the masses of the Chinese from starvation. Dr. Ross gives this vivid picture of the poverty of the common people:

Though the farmer thriftily combs his harvest field, every foot of the short stubble is gone over again by poor women and children, who are content if in a day's glean-ing they can gather a handful of wheat heads to keep them alive the morrow. On the Hongkong water front the path of the coolies carrying produce between warehouse and junk is lined with tattered women, most of them with a baby on the back. Where bags of beans or rice are in transit a dozen wait with basket and brush to sweep up the grains dropped from the sacks, while others run by the bearer, if his sack leaks a little, to catch the particles as they fall. Where sugar is being unloaded, a mob of gleaners swarm upon the lighter the moment the last sack leaves and eagerly scrape from the gangplank and the deck the sugar mixed with dirt that for two hours has been trampled into a muck by the bare feet of two score coolies trotting back and forth across a dusty road.¹

In the efforts of the people to wring a living for themselves out of the soil, the arable portions of China are tilled like a garden. Intensive agriculture is seen there at its best. Every natural resource, no matter how trifling, is made to serve its purpose. Weeds and leaves of trees are carefully gathered for fuel. Almost all kinds

¹ Ross, E. A., *The Changing Chinese*, p. 80.

of flesh are used for food. Silkworms are eaten after they have produced their silk. Domestic animals that have died a natural death find their way to the larder. Rats and cats and dogs are on sale in the meat markets. Even entrails are not disdained as an article of diet. In order to keep themselves from starving, the coolie classes must work far beyond their strength. The chair-bearers, ricksha men, and treadmill coolies wear themselves out in a few years. Their children while yet too young must take their places and aid in the struggle for food.

In the midst of an economic situation like this, where so many millions live perilously near the poverty line, the vanguard of western civilization is beginning to exert considerable influence. It is already having some effect on the building up of industry, and in so far as it is able to do this, the productive power of the nation is increased and the lot of the people will be made more endurable.

But there will follow other significant consequences, some of which are seldom given sufficient consideration. Among these is the decreased mortality which will come about through the efforts of modern medical science. At present the mortality among infants is appalling. Statistics are not available for whole China, but foreign physicians have stated that in the particular cities with which they were familiar eighty-five per cent of the children die before the end of the second year. The death rate in China is estimated at about fifty-five per thousand. In modernized Japan,

where the benefits of medical science are now put within reach of nearly all the people, they have lowered the death rate to twenty per thousand. It is reasonable to suppose that similar results will be attained in China as soon as the government enforces laws of sanitation and makes possible the training of native physicians in sufficient numbers to fight successfully against disease. Dr. Ross says further :

But to lower the birth rate in equal degree, that, alas, is quite another matter. The factors responsible for the present fecundity of fifty to sixty per thousand—three times that of the American stock, and nowhere matched in the white man's world, unless it be in certain districts in Russia and certain parishes in French Canada—will not yield so readily. It may easily take the rest of this century to overcome ancestor worship, early marriage, the passion for big families, and the inferior position of the wife. For at least a generation or two China will produce rapidly in the oriental way people who will die off slowly in the occidental way. When the death rate has been planed down to twenty, the birth rate will still be more than double, and numbers will be growing at the rate of over two per cent a year. Even with the aid of a scientific agriculture it is, of course, impossible to make the crops of China feed such an increase. It must emigrate or starve. It is the outward thrust of surplus Japanese that is today producing dramatic political results in Korea and Manchuria. In forty or fifty years there will come an outward thrust of surplus Chinese on ten times this scale. With a third of the adults able to read and with daily newspapers thrilling the remotest village with tidings of the great world, eighteen provinces will be pouring forth emigrants instead of two. To Mexico,

Central and South America, southwestern Asia, Asia Minor, Africa, and even old Europe, the black-haired bread seekers will stream, and then "What shall we do with the Chinese?" from being in turn a Californian, an Australian, a Canadian, and a South African question, will become a world question.¹

Another important effect of contact with western civilization, already mentioned in the foregoing quotation, is the development of means of communication which will make possible better mobilization of the Chinese millions. At present, as far as the masses of the people are concerned, they are far removed from western influences. Their illiteracy prevents them from following the news of the world in the newspaper press. Lack of railways and poor wagon roads limit lines of travel largely to navigable rivers. Moving from place to place in China is a serious matter, involving much time and inconvenience as well as expense. The millions in interior China know little of the West and possess no facilities to leave their country if they so desired.

All this will be changed when public schools make possible the wide circulation of newspapers and when railways connect the large cities throughout the different provinces. The people then not only will have a wider vision of the world, but will find it easily possible to go abroad. The masses will feel stirring within them a growing discontent with their lot in life. Contact with higher standards of living will arouse

¹ *The Changing Chinese*, p. 110.

within them desires beyond their power to satisfy. It is out of situations like this that great migrations arise. Conditions in the Far East indicate that China will soon be ripe for such a movement. When it begins, western civilization will be put to a severe test either in stemming the tide or in assimilating the hordes from the Orient.

It is thus evident that this marvelous westernization of the Orient, in which we take much pride, is putting into motion forces which may soon be beyond our power to control. Some have foreseen more or less clearly the trend of affairs in the Far East and have urged that while yet there is time our Pacific coast be made a racial frontier where a determined stand shall be taken against the oriental immigrant invasion. To many, such an attitude seems born in a spirit of provincialism and is unworthy of a hospitable nation like ours. Unfortunately, those who have been most active in their efforts to promote oriental interests in America have seemingly been blind to the significance of waking Asia. Secure in their belief that America is strong enough to dominate any situation that may arise, they have advocated a temporizing policy which may ultimately involve us in more serious complications as the Orient increases in strength.

The problem, moreover, is one that will not respond readily to diplomatic agreements. The Japanese government, with the best intentions in the world toward America, cannot ignore the fundamental conditions in their country which determine the trend of their

national policies. For at least another generation, until the period of the industrial transition in Japan is safely past, the relentless pressure of economic forces must play a predominant part in Japan's international relations. The fact that their imperialistic policy of expansion rests on what seems to be stern necessity, and not entirely upon their oft-mentioned determination to secure equal rights abroad, should give us sufficient assurance of their intention to carry it out in the face of all obstacles.

It is very clear even to the superficial observer that the whole Orient is now passing through a period of transition and adjustment which produces suffering and discontent among vast numbers of their people. The problems their governments face are many and serious. In their time of stress they naturally look to the West for assistance. Where we, as well as they, make a mistake, is in supposing that the open-door policy on our part would be an important step in improving their situation. This, at its best, would only give temporary relief and would not touch the root of their trouble. In the experience of European countries, emigration has been for them a loss rather than a gain. The ultimate welfare of the Orient depends not on its right to send emigrants abroad. Its progress will best be furthered by removing the conditions that cause emigration. This, of course, cannot be done at once. It will mean a slow and painful process of industrial development. Wisely directed efforts must be made along the line of birth control. The standard of living

must be raised until the mass of the people can live in reasonable comfort. When all this is attained, the immigration problem will no longer be an important issue, and the open-door policy which has always been one of the ideals of our nation can be fully carried out with Asia as well as Europe.

While such a solution of the problem is much to be wished for, we have by no means any assurance that it will be brought to pass within the immediate future. On the contrary, all the indications in the Orient seem to point in a different direction. Emigration, to the eastern peoples, seems to offer a quicker and more available escape from their economic burdens than does the more fundamental process of developing the resources of their country. It is too much to expect that the Orientals will exercise more restraint about emigration than have the people of Europe. The Japanese and the Chinese feel strongly that they must gain the right of emigration to the West. Their national policies are, of course, constructed with this desire in view, and while temporarily this aspect of them is held in abeyance it has by no means been fundamentally changed. They are simply waiting for a more favorable opportunity to press their demands.

We must bear in mind that the Orient will not always come to us in the attitude of a suppliant. The Orientals feel deeply that their cause is righteous, and their hands are strengthened by the consciousness of growing power. The West has a thousand times over in its aggressions and insults given the East good and suf-

ficient cause for war. It is to be hoped that the issue will be worked out along peaceful lines. Whether it will or not depends upon our skill in handling the situation and upon the prestige that our country possesses because of its fighting strength. No matter how much we may wish to escape it, the issue is thrust upon us. America is the frontier where must meet the East and the West, and upon the result of this meeting hinge vast consequences for the whole world.

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